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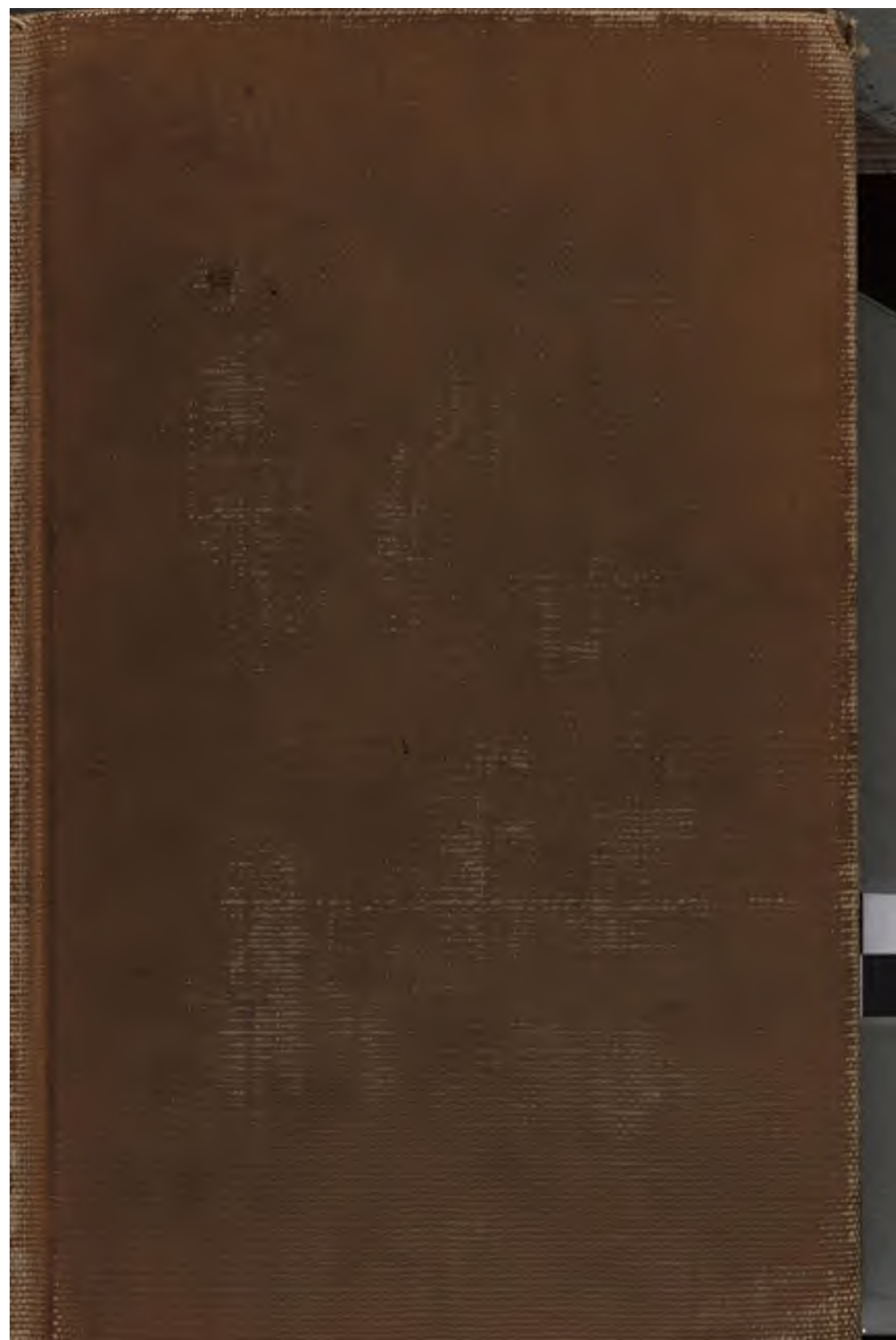
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PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE

OF

S A R A H,

DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH.

VOL. II.



Q U E E N . A . S . S . E .

London, Henry Colburn, 15, 16, Marlborough Street.

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PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE
OF
S A R A H,
DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH,
ILLUSTRATIVE OF
THE COURT AND TIMES OF
QUEEN ANNE;
WITH
HER SKETCHES AND OPINIONS
OF
HER CONTEMPORARIES
AND
THE SELECT CORRESPONDENCE OF HER HUSBAND,
JOHN, DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

SECOND EDITION.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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services for many years have been so often threatened with ill-treatment of one kind or other, had not made me curious to mind a little what was doing.

To give your Grace, with all the clearness I can, the notions of the parties this small observation has led me to, I must beg leave to make two or three distinctions. First, between principles and practice ; secondly, between old and modern Whigs, that is, before and since the Revolution ; thirdly, between the body of them and their leaders. As to the first, the great Whig principle is publick good. But this I believe the other side will pretend an equal claim to ; for 'tis the principle of government in general—and to judge of the principles of the parties, we must consider how each side apply this general principle, or what particular principles they draw it into ; for as there are some principles common to all governments, so every different form of government has maxims and principles, framed from the general ones, peculiar to itself, and here the two parties seem to split. Absolute regal government has one set of principles proper to itself, and popular government another. In governments mixed of both, such as ours is, the principles of both must be so adjusted as to preserve the rights and powers of the several parts of which the mixed government consists ; and in this due adjusting of different principles, both parties seem to have failed. The Tories espouse such notions of kingly government as, carryed to their full height, are utterly destructive of the liberties





CORRESPONDENCE
OF
SARAH
DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH.

DR. HARE TO THE DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH.

Amen Corner, Friday Night.

MADAM,

Though I have been a week in town, I have been so perpetually interrupted, that I hear your Grace is come to St. James's before I have begun to set pen to paper, which obliges me to return your Grace my humble thanks for the honour of your letter of the 31st, in a more hasty manner than I intended, or in good manners ought to do. Before I say more, I humbly beg your Grace to believe 'tis not from pamphlets or much town conversation that I have formed my notions of the two parties, but from the little observation I could myself make of them: my profession and inclination both leading me to studies in which the factions, vices, interests, and passions, of the present times, have no part, and therefore your Grace must not wonder at any mistake I make on a subject I am so little acquainted with, and of which I should know less, if a particular concern for the honour of those whose

services for many years have been so often threatened with ill-treatment of one kind or other, had not made me curious to mind a little what was doing.

To give your Grace, with all the clearness I can, the notions of the parties this small observation has led me to, I must beg leave to make two or three distinctions. First, between principles and practice ; secondly, between old and modern Whigs, that is, before and since the Revolution ; thirdly, between the body of them and their leaders. As to the first, the great Whig principle is publick good. But this I believe the other side will pretend an equal claim to ; for 'tis the principle of government in general—and to judge of the principles of the parties, we must consider how each side apply this general principle, or what particular principles they draw it into ; for as there are some principles common to all governments, so every different form of government has maxims and principles, framed from the general ones, peculiar to itself, and here the two parties seem to split. Absolute regal government has one set of principles proper to itself, and popular government another. In governments mixed of both, such as ours is, the principles of both must be so adjusted as to preserve the rights and powers of the several parts of which the mixed government consists ; and in this due adjusting of different principles, both parties seem to have failed. The Tories espouse such notions of kingly government as, carryed to their full height, are utterly destructive of the liberties

and properties of the people. Such is the divine and indefeasible right of princes ; the first of which, when it means a right different from that of the supreme power in other governments, has no sense in it ; and your other is in the full meaning of the word so fatal in its consequences, that no civilised people have ever thought it reasonable to abide by it, particularly not England, where, if that principle of indefeasible right were to take place, we should be all jacobites, or rather, should all of us long time since have been slaves.

In point of principles, therefore, the Whigs I think have the advantage of the Tories, as much as the good of a whole nation is more valuable than the separate good of the person that governs them, when they shall happen to interfere, which, in mixed governments, will sometimes be the case. But then, on the other hand, the principle the Whigs espouse is either too general, or they run too much to that set of principles that is peculiar to Governments that are wholly popular. Your liberties and properties of the people are the rule they pretend to govern themselves by, without those limitations and reserves that the mixture of kingly government makes necessary ; and this makes it the interest of a wise and good prince to encourage those who profess the Tory principles, for 'tis certain a man that would be a good subject in a republick, would not, by virtue of the same principles, be so in a monarchy. Now that the Whig principles have this fault in them seems

evident, from the known opinions of their principal leaders in the late troubles. Ludlow, and Ireton, and others of the ablest men, 'tis plain, from Ludlow's memoirs, were downright republicans, and were not so angry with the person governing, as the form of government ; and if they could not get rid of the last, they did not think the other worth contending about. That there should be this fault in their principles, is natural enough, if we consider whence they had them, which was from the Greek and Roman writers, who were almost all under republican governments ; and 'tis certain Rome and Athens both made the greatest figures while they were republics, and that this is the source from whence the Whigs have drawn their principles, may, I believe, beshewn by a very easy proof, which is this: I am apt to think, if we were to take an equal number of both parties, of the same rank and quality, the men of letters will, by a great majority, be found to be among the Whigs. I shall add but one word more to confirm this, and that is, that we see the truth of this every day confirmed in the men we call schemists and whimsicals ; men who have drawn their politicks from books, and have their heads filled with the ideas of the Greek and Roman governments.

I shall say but one word more on this head, which is, that the two opposite parties are not only faulty, in not adjusting the principles they have taken up to the particular form of mixed government they live under : they have both been influenced by the

civil war, to widen the difference between them, and carry their principles still further from that medium and ballance on which the preservation of the government depends ; which, after having said so much of their principles, leads me to consider, in the next place, the practice of the two parties. Now, in virtue of these different principles, the Tories have been always jealous of the encreasing of the power of the people, and their entrenching too much upon the prerogative ; and, on the other side, the Whigs have set up for patriots, and are always fencing against the *encroachments of the crown*, and instead of suffering *the power of the prince* to get ground upon the people, they have been perpetually gaining from the prince. The ballance between prince and people is hardly two years together the same, at least since triennial parliaments, and the changes that have been made in it are all in favour of the people, to which the alteration of property, which is now in a very great measure devolved to the Commons, has very much contributed. For I believe there is no truer principle in politicks, than that famous one, that dominion *follows property*, and that those who share most in the real strength of a nation, will have the greatest share, also, in the government ; and whatever deviation may be accidentally made from this rule, 'tis unnatural, and can't last, and that, therefore, whatever party-names prevail in England, the power will alter as the property does, and Tories, in spite of principles, will be Whigs, and will,

from time to time, be breaking in upon the crown to get fresh advantages to *the people*.

I shall not, for a further proof of this, insist that your Habeas Corpus, Treason, and Triennial acts are owing to the Tories ; * chiefly because, it may be said, they did not press their point as Tories, but as malecontents. But this I may say, that the good things the Whigs have done, they did likewise out of play, and either not used or laid aside ; which brings me to consider the next distinction I mentioned, that of old and modern Whigs ; or, as before and since the Revolution. Now, to judge how well they have acted up to their principles, 'tis not enough to consider their principles in themselves, but what things they are opposed to, which I think are these:—To the introducing Popery and French power from abroad, and the setting up arbitrary power and persecution at home. Now, before the Revolution, the Whigs, who were shut out of the Court, and were generally Whigs upon principle, and by inheritance, did always, so far as I can see, act steadily to these principles ; and 'tis to their immortal honour they struggled so hard for the Exclusion bill, to the mis-carriage of which we owe all the mischiefs we have felt for more than twenty years. But how far this virtue of theirs was the effect of a sour temper, that loves always to thwart a Court, or was owing to the

* The Habeas Corpus act was passed in the reign of Charles II. ; the Treason and Triennial acts in that of King William, were carried by the Opposition, the latter being brought forward by Harley.

want of temptation, we may guess by what followed after the Revolution, which, I think, shews that their rigid and inflexible self-denying virtue could not bear the sunshine of the Court, but melted away before the warm beams, like the manna of the Israelites. As long as men are men, self-interest will have a mighty influence ; and if the Whigs have escaped the faults the Tories are blemished with, I suspect 'tis their good fortune more than their superior virtue, or the power of better principles. 'Twas their happiness to be out of play in those reigns when the princes had such corrupt purposes to serve ; for as soon as they came into play, they were as errant courtiers as their predecessors. 'Twas their good fortune to serve a prince who put them under no temptation to favour France, Popery, or persecution. In these points, therefore, they were of a piece with their principles ; but as to other matters, which regarded the ballance of power between prince and people, such as the bills before mentioned, to which I may add the Irish grants, and the management of the revenue, and the partialities to the Dutch, they always, when in, took the side of the Court, and every bill gained in the last reign was owing, as it commonly is, to the side that at that time was out. I must not forget their usage of the India Company, and the changes of the lieutenancies and justices all over the kingdom, which created an odium against them they could not stand ; to say nothing of their voluntary assõ-

ciations and other contrivances, made use of for no other end but to ensnare honest men, and secure a faction for themselves.

I don't add to this their endeavours for a standing army; because, tho' it endangers, above all things, the liberty of the people, yet I think the hazard was in our case the less, because they could have no subsistence but from parliament, and the circumstances of affairs then, in my humble opinion, made it necessary, the King of Spain being at that time in so languishing a condition. But what made a standing army necessary, made the continuance of war necessary; and I think 'twas at that time evident that nothing induced the French King to make Riswyck treaty but the design of playing the game he has since, and seizing the Spanish monarchy. Tho' I am apt to think, had the late King had a good body of standing troops, the war might have been prevented, if not the partition, which I confess I think would, had it taken place, been most fatal to us in its consequences.

But, to return from this digression, if one takes a view of the two parties in the last reign, I think there is great reason to suspect that the good laws that were obtained, were not so much owing to men's being Whigs or Tories, as to their being in or out. When men are out, they have nothing to do but to act the patriot, to spy faults in them that are in, to make themselves popular by invectives against the ministry, or by self-denying motions, in order to be

taken off by the Prince, or to ingratiate themselves with the people, in order, by a majority in parliament, to force themselves upon the Prince, and to get into the administration. Those who are out mean, in the first place, to serve themselves, tho' by different ways ; some, by a violent opposition to the Court, the most common, basest way ; others, by saving it, in which they act often the honestest, tho' not the more popular part. But even these honest men, I believe those who know this matter best can tell that there are very few, for these eight years past, have served their prince and country well in parliament, who have not, in one way or other, desired to be paid for it, and have been ready to be malecontents, if they were not. From whence I infer, that principles of politicks have very little influence on men's practice, who are generally determined by something more weighty than their refined maxims, and pure disinterested notions. This might be shewn by innumerable instances ; but here I must own there is reason to distinguish between old and modern Whigs. There are some few of the first who adhere to their principles ; but much fewer, I dare say, than they are commonly thought ; but a small handful of these who vote for self-denying bills. But when one has given them this praise, what is any government the better for them ? What ministry can deal with such intractable creatures, who are so possessed with notions that are either not practicable, or are not suited to our government ?

They pique themselves in opposing everything a Court would have, and all their conversation is one continued libel on their superiors ; and they are always affecting popularity, which their estates bear them out by self-denying bills, which I think so far from a commendation to those that in earnest mean them, that, in my poor judgment, they may demonstrably be shewn to be a reflection on their understandings.

But let these pass, who bear so small proportion to the body of Whigs, I think the modern Whigs, those grown up since the Revolution, have, in the main, shewn themselves as good courtiers as their neighbours, and are for their principles no longer than their principles are for them ; and I believe one may with truth affirm of both sides, that very few of either are so out of principle ; and were they to be asked what the names mean, could answer very little that had any sense in it, more than siding with such and such partizans, listing under such or such chief leaders. Which brings me to the last distinction I mentioned between the body of each party and their leaders. 'Tis upon them the faults are properly chargeable that are imputed to the party, who have either no hand in what they do, or are their tools only. To judge, therefore, of the Whigs, we must consider how they have acted who have for many years been at the head of them ; whether they have acted by principle or interest. I shall be content to go no further back than the three last years.

In the campaign of 1707, nothing having been done in Flanders, the only campaign this war in which nothing has been done on that side, and a battle having been lost in Spain, I can't forget how clamorous they were in the Lords' House, what faults they found with the scheme of the war, which they wanted to have pushed in Spain, in the same nonsensical cant the Tories now talk in. And what was this for? Not because they thought what they said, but to force the ministry into their measures; which they did, and then they were quiet. Which, when Mr. Harley perceived, he brought about the Almanza business in the Commons, in order to bring the ministry off from the new engagements they were gone into. He miscarried in his attempt, was removed himself, and the Whigs triumphed, as having at last got a clear field. How now did they behave themselves upon this? Why, the presidentship of the Council, lieutenancy of Ireland, and the Admiralty, were not yet in their hands; and nothing can content but all.

Next summer, my Lord Duke loses Gand by surprise, and in great danger of raising the siege of Lisle, and what part did these patriots take in this, your Grace, I dare say, remembers too well to be put in mind of it. I shall, therefore, only say, that I had letters then from a great Whig, that told me they talked of nothing but impeachments, to which I remember I made answers full of the indignation such treatment would suggest to any honest man,

who had true concern for my Lord Duke's honour, and a just sense for the mighty things he had then done well. This difficulty was overcome, and the campaign proved very glorious to his Grace, but before the end could be known what it would be, a new Parliament was to meet the 16th of November, the memorable day on which his Grace, to his eternal honour, repassed the Scheldt. Can one forget what the party then did when they would have forced Sir Peter King upon the ministry for speaker, when the ministry had before, with their consent, or rather in compliance with them, pitched on Sir R. Onslow, and this, tho' the Prince's death had removed their great uneasiness about the Admiralty. But nothing would do, they had the ministry under difficulty, and notwithstanding all former obligations, they would make their advantage of it, and the ministry must be distressed, or come entirely into them, and that, tho' the removal of Mr. Harley had made so unhappy a discovery of the Queen's inclinations to the other side.

These things are too fresh in my mind, and the consequences of them in forcing the Ministry to put the Queen upon measures so disagreeable to her are so fatal, that I can't but hope your Grace will forgive me for saying so freely what I think of the leaders of this party, in whose faults I don't involve the whole party, but then I think 'tis but reasonable to give the same quarter to the other side, and not to charge the faults of the leaders upon the whole body.

The Tories concerned in the administration are but a very small part of that side, which, as I said, in my last letter, I take to be the side the gentry of England, for much the greater part, are of, and there does not seem to be good reason for thinking they would act the same parts in the like case, much less in better reigns, when there is no temptation to it; in truth, I can't but think that the same persons, most of them, after the experience they have had, would go into the same wrong measures again. To conclude, all I would say on this subject, I take the ballance of power to be the great principle that affects the nation as to the disputes between prince and people, and that self-interest is the great principle that governs particulars where integrity and virtue don't interpose. Where men come under those characters, they will be true in the essential points, whether Whig or Tory, to the government they have sworn to and are protected by; and men who are not men of probity and honour in their private lives, no principle or obligation can hold them, whatever name they give themselves. They will go where interest calls, and be for those that are for them, and I can't but think experience will justify those reflections, and 'tis from thence I draw some comfort in our present circumstances, of which, when I have said a little, I will put an end to this long letter.

Now, as to these, I flatter myself they won't bring so much mischief to the public as is apprehended,

and that what mischief is unavoidably occasioned by the change, is not to be imputed to the Tories, who seem to have had little or no hand in it : for Sacheverell's affair, I take that to be only the occasion of the change, and not the cause, which seems to have been deeper laid, and to arise from causes which one must look a good way back for. 'Tis now no secret with what prejudice the Queen came to the crown against the Whigs, from the treatment she had from them while Princess ; the vile methods of defaming her, that were open and common, and in which your Grace's reputation suffered with hers ; and to complete her aversion, from the persuasion she had, and those about her, that there was a design forming to set her aside.) These prejudices gave the Whigs little room to hope for much favour in her reign : but her ministry thinking it for her service, she was prevailed upon to take some in among the Tories, under a notion of moderation ; though I much question whether any of that side were brought in, entirely with her liking ; I suspect her inclination to the other side was always uppermost, and that she was uneasy every day more and more, when she saw the number of Whigs increase about her ; and if she was, 'tis easy to guess what secret disgusts she took to see the whole administration in a manner in hands she hated, and that moderation only served as a bridge to go over from one party to the other, instead of uniting them together. And the Whigs, I think, took very little care to

remove the aversion she had to them in matters that were personal to her, not to mention their opposition to the settlement of the civil list upon the foot of King William's, and the allowance for the Prince. After they were taken in, your Grace knows how uneasy they often made her by their addresses about the Admiralty, which all pointed at the person she had so tender a concern and love for, and to finish their ill courtship, nothing in my poor opinion could be ruder than their addresses last winter, about Mr. Hoadley.* I might add their vain endeavours, which I at the time thought provoking to the last degree, to draw Mr. Harley into Gregg's affair, which shewed with a witness the spirit of party.

These I take to have been at the bottom the true causes of the change which has been made, which some unfortunate things last winter helped to bring on, particularly the steps that were made to bring the business of Mrs. Masham into Parliament, which must, of necessity, give the greatest resentment. These things, Mr. Harley, when he found the ministry would not come into his measures, took his advantage of, and being sure of the inclinations of the Queen, has no doubt been some time forming his scheme, and considering how to bring it to bear, and fortunately for this purpose

* The celebrated Benjamin Hoadley, afterwards Bishop of Bangor. His controversy with Atterbury on the doctrine of non-resistance, had given such satisfaction to the Whigs, that they addressed the Queen in his favour.

comes the business of Sacheverell, which, from the beginning, had so many cross turns in it, as helped to raise a mighty ferment in people who had for some time been out of humour on account of the church ; and this inflamed the nation to that degree, as to render the Whigs everywhere unpopular, and that gave such a prospect of Tory elections, that Mr. H. could not persuade himself to slip such an opportunity. I don't doubt but that he would have been very glad had this accident happened a year later, when the parliament might have expired decently, and the war be at an end, which could not, in all probability, have lasted a year longer. I don't think Sacheverell's affair has been the cause of the change, but the occasion only of its breaking out sooner than it would have done otherwise. Nor are the Tories so simple, as to like the man better than the Whigs. All men of common sense must universally condemn the sermon, and I never heard anybody express the least esteem for the man, but the contrary ; but when the impeachment came on, they made their advantage of it to render the Whigs odious to the people, which they had themselves given but too much handle for ; for I believe there never was a set of men that so avowedly and upon principle declared for irreligion and immorality, and seemed to take pains to debauch all the young nobility and gentry they could lay hands on, which gave great offence to good men of all sides. 'Tis certain they took all opportunities to

throw contempt on the clergy, and no care was taken to gain the universities, they were neglected to the last degree, and run down in the most opprobrious manner in all Whig conversation, and one of them, Oxford, has been all along treated as a professed enemy. Your Grace knows who always calls the most considerable body of them Jesuits; and that whole university was disobliged to the last degree, by putting upon them a divinity professor after the Queen had promised Dr. Smalridge, who had discharged the office as a deputy for some years before, greatly to their satisfaction; and indeed he is, as far as I can judge, the most valuable man of the whole party. Add to this the innumerable pamphlets the nation swarmed with without controul, in which religion and the church were for some years insulted in so impudent a manner as had not been known before.

I don't say whether those things could have been hindered; but those that disliked them certainly thought they might, and imputed the contrivance and increase of such writings to the secret encouragement the leading Whigs gave to them; and what affected religion and the established church so much, had no less influence on the Queen, I believe, than it had on the people, and contributed very much to increase her aversion to that party. And when minds were thus prepared, 'tis not so great wonder that Sacheverell's affair had more effect than it ought to have had naturally. When

people's fears are once alarmed, especially about religion, there is nothing that they are not capable of apprehending ; and 'tis thought wisdom to suspect more than is seen ; and talking of forming a new test for the clergy on that occasion, and threatening acts and oaths to bind them up in the rude manner they did, confirmed people in their suspicions, and made them think they could not fear too much. These I take to be the causes of the change and the success they have had in their elections ; and tho' the Tories may be the gainers by it, they can't be said to be the authors of it : it seems to have been resolved, begun, and entered on, not by them, but by men who would be thought of neither party, but would govern both ; and if they have now thrown themselves upon the Tories, 'tis as a last shift ; and if the Tories have closed with them, 'tis no more strange than 'tis for men who have been long out, to desire and be glad to come in : how they will behave themselves now they are in, is another question. I can't think any man can act a part so false to themselves, as not to endeavour to carry on the publick business, in which, if they had not all the success one could wish, something must be imputed to the opposite party, who, one may be sure, will endeavour to distress them all they can ; and the rest of the mischief that has or may arise from this change, must be laid at the door of the leaders, who have ventured in this nice juncture to risque everything to raise themselves, which sober men can't

think of without resentment, and in this changeable climate, there is no security, but the tables may soon turn, and those who shall have been the authors of so much mischief, may have reason to wish they had not been in so much haste.

In the meantime, as these new measures did not take their beginning from any design to favour the Pretender, so I hope for the reasons given in my last, they won't end in him, and that his cause will find no other advantage in them, than what may arise from a less successful carrying on the war, and the success of that I shall still promise myself, if the army continue still under the same command, which I take to be so absolutely necessary, that I can't but think they will come into some reasonable measures with my Lord Duke, rather than want a man they can't possibly do without. As to the Pretender, I can't see the Tories have taken any steps directly in favour of him, but the other side have, I think, made a great one, which, strange as it will seem, will appear, I believe, to your Grace to be very true, if you reflect on what passed last winter. One of the principal things that drew the nation so unanimously into the Revolution, was the supposed illegitimacy of the Pretender; and whatever may have been the sentiments of a few persons of the first rank, as to this matter, 'tis certain the nation in general has all along been strongly possessed of this opinion, and I think 'tis exceeding evident that nothing can wear in the Revolution so much as to

the dispossessing the people of this notion, and had the Tories attempted this, 'twould have been one of the most specious handles against them to prove them Jacobites ; and yet the Whigs have done this in the most publick manner possible in Westminster Hall, by supposing or rather affirming his legitimacy, and maintaining the hereditary right to be in him, by which, I dare say, many thousands of the people have been brought to alter their opinion, and that may go a great way to endanger the Revolution. For tho' the excluding of him, supposing his legitimacy, may not be thought unjust, it will be thought hard that a prince should lose a kingdom for his father's faults, which he had no hand in ; and there is a great disposition in people to pity innocent princes in distress, and therefore, in my poor opinion, nothing could have been of greater service to the Revolution than keeping up that opinion, nothing so serviceable to the Pretender as the removing it ; and what good purpose the Whigs could serve in this, I can't see, unless it were to assert the power of making kings, which is an assertion that could serve for nothing but to offend the Prince, and make themselves unpopular to the body of the nation. If they had been content to suppose what has been supposed all along, that the Pretender is spurious, there had been no occasion for opposing the Queen's hereditary right ; by doing which they have certainly done themselves a great deal of prejudice ; for 'tis impossible to think a prince

can like to have her right to the crown disputed, or of two rights, to have but one allowed, especially such a right as this, which, being peculiar to herself, in opposition to her successors, one can't but suppose she is very much pleased with besides. But this right does a little distinguish her from her predecessor also, to whom she had, on this foot, a prior right, which she never consented to quit to a prince whom 'tis known she had no great kindness for. Besides, though the Prince of Wales were legitimate, the government of England is certainly an hereditary government : so it was thought before the Revolution, and the case is not altered. The Revolution was not the first breach that has been made in the right line, and therefore, if former alterations of this kind did not alter the nature of the government, or the language of the laws, neither, for the same reasons, should the Revolution. All such cases are extraordinary cases, and exceptions to the ordinary rules and the ordinary principles, notions, language, laws, and methods of government, notwithstanding such alterations continue as they were ; ordinary cases are never governed by, or are formed upon extraordinary ones, and for that reason the government of England is not to be new modelled, or to have new schemes or notions introduced as the standing rules of it upon account of the Revolution, and as nothing could be so disagreeable to the Queen, so I think nothing is more untrue than to deny her an hereditary right ; for, supposing the

Pretender set aside, there is no need of an act of Parliament to settle the succession on her. She succeeds, in course, as next heir, as in private inheritances ; if the elder son be once set aside, whatever the reason be, the next heir, without any new power vested in him, comes to the estate.

This openly setting up the title of the Pretender against the Queen's, has not only highly offended her, but seems to have contributed more than any other thing to incense the people, and has given occasion to all the strange language we have seen in the late addresses ; which I take generally to have no other meaning in them, but to make their court in high-strained compliments of which they don't see, much less intend, the consequences that may be made from them. Some hot-headed zealous clergymen, and some few of the laity, may have taken encouragement from this spirit in the people, to intimate their inclinations to the Pretender, and try how far it will be borne ; but that, generally speaking, anything is meant in his favour, I see no reason to believe. And now the Tories have gained their point, I don't doubt but this high flying language will be dropt, and they will think and speak and act like Englishmen who have paid too dear for their liberties to part with them easily, and have too great an abhorrence of Popery and French government, to think a prince is to be trusted who has sucked in both with his milk, in the depth of Italian bigotry, and under the most arbitrary prince that

these parts of the world have seen ; and that when his father, on his death-bed, has recommended him to look on the French King as his father, and never to entertain the least thought of quitting these kingdoms, which have been so indiscreet as to publish themselves to the world, in the account of King James's last hours.

To conclude this long letter, I think if the alterations we see may be accounted for without taking in the Pretender, then there is no reason to suppose his cause at the bottom of them ; but that they may be accounted for without him, I humbly conceive may appear from what I have said, and, therefore, till I see some step taken in favour of him, I shall still hope nothing of that is intended. These, madam, are the free and impartial thoughts of one, I am sure, who is under no bias to the side he may seem to favour in this account. I am influenced neither by passion or interest, being a perfect stranger to every one of our new governors. If, therefore, I judge wrong in this affair, as I am sensible I easily may in a subject I am so much a stranger to, the same goodness in your Grace, which has encouraged me to lay my thoughts before you in this hasty manner, will also dispose you to forgive what is amiss in them, as proceeding from no other cause but a want of better information, of which my way of life has given me very little opportunity. I am sensible a very little time will either confirm or destroy a great deal of what I have

advanced, and, therefore, in discretion, I should have suppressed my thoughts, till things had spoken for themselves ; but I had rather discover my weakness than take up with a conduct unworthy of the confidence your Grace has used towards me, which I hope your Grace will always have reason to think could nowhere be placed safer than in,

Madam, your Grace's most faithful,
And most obedient servant,
FR. HARE.

DR. HARE TO THE DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH.

London, Dec. 1, 1711.

Madam,

Having troubled your Grace with so long a letter on Tuesday, in which an unskilful hand ventured to touch so many points, in so much haste, I was to wait on your Grace on Wednesday evening, that no misapprehension of anything that I had said might rest upon your mind, and to prevent your being drawn by my absence to give yourself the trouble of an answer, little thinking I should be so agreeably surprised as I was this morning with the honour of your Grace's letter of the 29th, through the whole of which there shines such a penetration and knowledge of affairs, so much sincerity with a spirit of liberty, and so just a sense of publick good, that I can truly say I never read anything with more pleasure ;

and what your Grace makes an excuse for ill writing, I think adds beauty to your letter, while the sentiments in such a dress appear more genuine and natural, the beauty of sense, as well as person, is seen to most advantage, when, in a careless dress, and least disguised with ornament and art ; and, if I may have leave to say so, your Grace is in both a great instance of the truth of this.

There are several things in your Grace's letter give me light, where before I wanted it, but one particularly towards the close, which, at the same time it informs my judgment, I will own to your Grace, gives me more admiration and esteem for so excellent a person than I ever had before, or than anything else would have given me ; and that is that your Grace says, my Lord Duke used to call you the true-born Whig, which, I think, exceeds all things that can be said of you, for a person, a woman in a court, in corrupt and arbitrary courts, in a court where, for several years, she has made the first figure ; and that, notwithstanding the ill usage she and her friends received from that single court of four that pretended to the Whig principles, for a lady that was almost born in a court, and the chief favourite of it, that has been exposed to receive so much flattery herself, and under such temptations, to give it to her Prince ; that a lady in such circumstances should adhere steadily to the principles of Whigism, has something in it so extraordinary, that it looks as if you had been born on purpose to

be the guardian genius of the Queen, whose family has been all ruined for want of such faithful ministers. Whatever I think of infusing Whig notions into the people, there can be no dispute, whether they are not the best for the crown, and were it possible to make such a distinction, 'tis, I think, that nothing could tend so much to the happiness of the Government, as to have the people bred in the Tory principles, and *nothing* but Whig ones to be infused into the Prince ; for certainly in our Government, the dignity of the Crown is a part of the people's care, in order to preserve the Constitution, and, on the other hand, the Prince can't have too tender a sense of the good of his people, his interest being in all the essential points inseparable from theirs—and for that reason I can't but think it a great blessing to the Queen to have had so near her person one who has done so much to *keep her* from those notions that have been so fatal to her predecessors, and 'tis with most sensible pleasure and admiration, I behold in your Grace such a strength of mind, that has been able to preserve its sincerity and integrity amidst so much corruption.

If the Whig principles were never so right, they would not draw much esteem from me, if I saw them in one who had no relation to a court, or who hoped, as in the last reign, to make his court by it, or in a man who had been disgraced, or was a profest anti-courtier, or who affected the popularity of distinguishing himself in the country party ; but,

for a person in whose case there is nothing of this, but the reverse of it ; for a person bred in flattery and Toryism, to espouse principles so little agreeable to the weakness so few Princes are exempt from, and in that reign where she shares, in some sort, the adoration paid the Prince by the intimacy and favour she is in, this I can't forbear saying to one who loves so little what looks like flattery, that it is the truest instance of heroick virtue I have ever seen ; and I shall never think of your Grace without admiration, whenever I consider that these are the mutual sentiments your Grace has constantly adhered to, in defiance of the infinite temptations you have been under to the contrary. I ask your Grace's pardon for having said so much on a subject on which perhaps you had rather I had said nothing, but such an exalted pitch of disinterested virtue affects me so much, that 'tis impossible to be silent, tho' no words can express the pleasure and surprise it gave me, or the respectful sense I have of it. But your Grace will ask what notions I had of you, that this discovery so much surprises me ; in answer to which, I shall be so ingenuous, as to tell your Grace, what have truly been my thoughts of this matter ; I did always think you had been originally bred in the Tory notions, that you had imbibed them as deeply as most others in the same education in these times, and that what followed upon the Revolution confirmed you in them ; I thought that you and your friends had at first disliked the *pushing*

the Revolution so far that there was a disposition to think the Prince of Wales legitimate ; that you were not pleased to see the Princess's title postponed, that the ill usage the Princess had, was, for the greatest part of that reign, directly from the Whigs ; and that what was received from Tories was only for a little while, and in obedience to the will of the King, who was never without his jealousies ; that the personal ill usage your Grace and my Lord Duke met with, had fixed that aversion to the Whigs ; that the friendships were all with the Tories, that all service done to the Princess and yourselves was from them, that you were extremely dissatisfied with the administration of the Government and the men there employed ; and that lastly, you really believed there was an intention to set the Princess aside, and that all the pains that were taken to poison the people with ill opinions of her, were with that design, and consequently that both the Queen and your Grace had the *utmost aversion* to the Whigs, and were entirely in the Tory sentiments and liked the men. These, I thought, were your Grace's sentiments when the Queen came to the Crown, but the Tories, then carrying things with great violence, which the two friends are, in the natural temper of them, utterly averse to, this I reckoned gave a check to things, and that interest as well as inclination disposed them to moderate matters, and give some countenance to the other side, the Tories plainly shewing, they did not put an entire confidence

in my Lord Duke and Lord Godolphin, but liked Rochester and Nottingham better for their leaders, whom they looked on as thorough Tories, who would go all their lengths with them; and this, as I thought at the beginning of this reign, was all the Whigs had for it. They saw the Tories were as truly divided among themselves under different heads, as they were from them; and since they had not interest enough to form a party by themselves, they made their court to that party of the Tory ministry that came nearest to them, who happened to be the same persons that were likewise most in favour with the Queen, that is, to my Lord Duke and Lord Godolphin, who, finding the Tories would not be governed by them, unless they would come into their violent measures, thought it for their service to close with, or at least to countenance, the Whigs, which the more they did the more they lost ground with the Tories, who early shewed their diffidence in this ministry by their refusing the motion the Queen made to them in favour of his Grace; and the umbrage they took at the countenance shewn the Whigs was greatly increased by the part these Lords took in the occasional bill in which they chose to act neuters, leaving the two parties to fight it out, to the great disgust of the Tories, who took this for an open declaration in favour of the Whigs, and made them venture upon that desperate experiment the tack—which bold step, in opposition to the ministry, made them so sick of the Tories, as to come to

an open breach with them, and without any disguise to favour the Whigs, who shewed they were for keeping things quiet at home and for carrying on the war with vigour, which was the only way they could recover the ground they had lost, and make themselves popular in the nation and well with the ministry. And the more a good understanding was cultivated with these, the more the others were enraged ; and to justify all they should do in opposing the ministry, they complained loudly of them for deserting their old friends ; and they soon shewed their good will in the motions they made about the Scotch Security Bill, tho' it was at the end of the Blenheim campaign, when the wonderful successes of that year had made my Lord Duke and his friends so popular. They shewed their malice then, and have ever since been harping upon the same string, tho' it was a case in which a very little honesty and understanding would have convinced that his lordship was not to blame the least on that occasion ; for when that act was consented to, it was in the interval between the battles of Shellenberg and Blenheim ; and how melancholy the face of things was then everybody may remember. The Scotch parliament would give no money, or do any public business. If the Queen would not give them that act, the Scotch ministry declared they could not answer for the quiet of the kingdom an hour, if the Bill were refused. In that case, he would have been a bold

minister that should have advised against it ; and I would be glad to know what they would have said, who think the consenting to it so great a crime, if, upon the refusing it, any tumults and insurrections had happened in that juncture of affairs. But it is the unhappy fate of ministers, that, whether you are for or against a thing, there is, either way, room for malice or faction to take it by an ill handle.

This ill usage of Lord Godolphin, I thought, determined the ministry to keep no longer any measure with the Tories, and made the moderation they had declared for incline to the other side, and threw them upon the junto lords, which I could not but think a great unhappiness, being fully persuaded that they had no real kindness for the ministry, nor the ministry any esteem for them ; and that their inclinations were really to the other side, so far as they would be reasonable and temperate.

This is an imperfect account of the sentiments I had of things, who only saw the outside of them ; I thought your Grace or your friends with the Queen had always been in the notions as well as the acquaintance of the other side, and all that looked otherwise was against the grain, and for reasons of state ; and I can remember very well I was extremely surprised to find your Grace, when I had the honour to take leave of you the next spring, 1705, when there was to be a new parliament, to express so much dislike to the Tories as to shew

you had some suspicion that three of the persons you mentioned in your letter were not so entirely in my Lord Duke's interest, as they should be ; which I was very much shocked at, and could not believe, but feared then your Grace carried your resentments too far, and went too fast over to the men whom I had thought you had ever till then disliked, and from whom I doubted you would find the return you expected, while, for two or three wrong steps, you discarded those you had so long a friendship with. These were my thoughts then, and when I found the misunderstanding that was grown between your Grace and the Queen, I presently imputed it to the politics, that your Grace being of an open, warm, quick temper, and the Queen the contrary, you made too short a turn for her, who could not quit so easily the side she had always liked, being bred to—tutored in by the clergy that were about her, and, as I thought, confirmed by those very persons who were now for changing sides, and for bringing her to like the men she had always hated, and to hate the men she had always liked. This I took to be the true cause of this fatal difference, that she could not change as her ministry did, and conquer her aversions that were so fixed in her.

Having given your Grace this account of the apprehension I had of changing sides, I come now to say something to some parts of your Grace's letter, that may give occasion either to explain or alter the no-

tions I have had of things. And first, I beg leave to observe to your Grace, that I did not intend it as a part of my letter to vindicate or excuse the Tories, but to shew that the Whigs also had their faults ; that their principles were not entirely English, I mean, suited to our constitution ; and yet a few of them, were they ne'er so right, had virtue to act up to them ; that they were indeed true to their country, in opposition to Popery and France, but as to all other matters, I feared were as corrupt as their neighbours ; and yet if they had not the blemish the late reigns had brought upon the Tories, that I imputed it not so much to their goodness as their good fortune, to be employed in better times, and that the present generation of Tories would no more go into those scandalous measures than the Whigs ; and that, in general, the things that were done in parliament to the advantage of the people against the crown, were carried by those that were out of court, whether Whigs or Tories, in opposition to them that were in ; and that the party which were out, which ever they were, commonly set themselves to distress the ministry ; and that I take to be the reason of the obstruction which the Tories, in the last reign especially, gave to public business, rather than intentions in favour of France or the Pretender. As to the Tories, tho' their principles in favour of the crown, when carried to an extremity, have either no sense, or are unreasonable, yet they have others in favour of the other part of the constitution ; their

first principle is public good, which they pretend to serve by such and such particular principles, suited to the English government ; and however they act, their pretence is to secure the constitution in church and state, and preserve the just bounds and limits between prince and people. And, however the words of their principles may sound, 'tis equitable to explain them so as to make sense of them, and make them consistent with one another ; and 'tis in that sense we must explain our laws, which many of them give certain rights to the people, and yet others declare the Prince can do no harm, nor may, on any account, be resisted. To make sense of these laws, those in favour of the Prince must be softened by interpretation, and not taken in the rigour of the letter, or else all the boasted rights of the people must be very insecure. But the misfortune of the Tories, in point of principles, is, that the civil wars made many of them have that aversion for republican notions, that they thought they never could go too far in the other extreme, in professions at least, and the Court liked that humour too well not to encourage it all they could, in hopes it would admirably serve their arbitrary purposes ; but they have dearly paid for trying the experiment. The Revolution has shewn that nature will teach them common sense, and make them give to their principles such a meaning as shall make them consistent with the fundamental principle of government and the great law of self-preservation, and

with all the written laws of their country, that were made to preserve the constitution.

But to let this pass, I am free to own, their principles, as commonly taught since the Restoration, are absurd and unreasonable, and destructive, not only to the liberty of the people, but of those very princes they would be thought to serve by them; and whatever their principles be in the reigns before the Revolution, they certainly went into very wrong measures, and few who were then in the ministry had virtue or courage enough to keep clear of them; and since the Revolution, they have obstructed the public business on many remarkable occasions, which I impute, not so much to their Toryism, as to their misfortune of being out of play. That they did not come more roundly into the abdication, I can't think any reproach to their honesty whatever. It might be to their wisdom to think it practicable for King James to continue on the throne, every man in that point being at liberty to judge for themselves, and under no tye to the late King till he was King. But that his government was afterwards very much distressed by the ill humour of his parliaments, who gave money very late, never enough, and upon ill funds, is not to be denied; and once I think it was carried but by eleven votes in the Commons, to have any land army, a little before the discovery of the assassination-plot; and these obstructions were no doubt created by the Tories. But in this I think they acted as all parties do

when they are out, who think in this way to oblige princes to change hands and take them in.

They afterwards shewed themselves very perverse in settling the succession, in all the steps of which they shewed so much rudeness to the King, and treated a bill of that consequence with so much contempt, as is not easily to be excused, and gave but too much ground to suspect they did not really like the thing, tho' they never acted so Whiggish a part as on that occasion, in which, in their pretended concern for the people, they outdid the Whigs themselves, and put such a set of limitations on the successor in the House of Hanover, as one can't believe they thought reasonable or practicable themselves, but that they made them to be so many libels on the King, and it looked as if they had a mind to lose the bill, and I know nothing more for the honour of the King, than that he chose rather to bear all that indignity, than not pass a bill of that importance, and if it could have been done, those whom it concerns are not easily to be forgiven, that they did not take care to have the succession at the same time settled in Scotland, which, had not the Union taken place (which, by that very omission, was made exceeding difficult) it must have proved of the most fatal consequence.

I likewise remember many personal affronts which the King received from his Parliaments, but for those I don't blame them so much as his ministers, who should have consulted his honour better than

to have put him upon asking things which they might have known could serve to nothing else, but to expose him to the insults of those who were so ill affected to him. There was one thing more in his reign never to be forgotten ; but 'tis still a secret to me on which side the fault is to be laid, and that is in dissolving the impeaching Parliament in such a manner as to make it February before the new one met, tho' the death of the King of Spain, the latter end of October, made it of so much consequence for us to lose no time in so critical a juncture, and for ought I know 'tis to this unhappy delay, we owe the war we have been so long engaged in, or at least we might have made it upon much better terms. For 'tis certain, the Elector of Bavaria had a minister here six weeks, soliciting the King for money or troops to defend the Netherlands, and the want of a Parliament rendering the King unable to give the Elector any satisfactory answer, was, I believe, the true occasion of his delivering up, as he did, in one day to France so strong a frontier, which it has been the work of years to recover.

When that was done, the King, who had in Holland promised not to dissolve that Parliament, was in the hands of a Tory ministry : but it was thought, at the bottom, he was all that time governed by those he had removed, so that it is by no means clear to me where that fault lay, which I think is the most fatal step since the Revolution, and 'tis more than probable the men that were out had the

greatest hand in it. I have not mentioned as a fault of either party in that reign, the Partition Treaty, because 'twas purely the King's own doing. The Tories had no hand in it, and the Whigs no more than the Tories, I dare say, would have had, had they been in the ministry ; to excuse that treaty, I know the ill humour of the people is made use of, and that centres in the Tories ; but then the Tories will say the ill humour they shewed was occasioned by the ill administration during the war, and nothing better was to be hoped for the future, if the King continued in the same hands ; and there was so much truth in this, that I'm much mistaken if my great friends were not of that opinion, and were not positive the war and the money might have been managed to much greater advantage, and the same ill conduct would have continued had we gone into a new war under the same ministry ; which is some excuse for the backwardness the last Parliament of the King shewed to come into it, tho' their delay in that matter was of exceeding ill consequence, the King of France having by that means gained almost a whole year to secure himself in the usurpation he made, which made us enter in the war with so much disadvantage, that I protest to your Grace, I have been often humbled to think of it. I shall say nothing of the conduct of the Tories since his death, but from the whole of it, it must be confessed, they have not been forward in anything that might secure or give credit to the Revolution,

nor to the vigorous pushing of the war ; but I am not satisfied that this behaviour is owing to a dislike of the Revolution, or to favour the Pretender, but to their being laid aside and not rewarded or encouraged as they deserved for their part in it, and to the resentment of the insolent usage with which they were treated by the Whigs, who did all that was possible to blacken them, and in many instances used them with the utmost contempt and indignity, and in general their behaviour to them was most provoking, and if even when they have been in, they have been humorsome, that is partly owing to a want of entire confidence in the ministry, and partly to their concern (I think a very foolish concern) for the Church, and partly to the notions some of their leaders have of managing the war frugally, which is, in truth, though not in their design, starving it ; I say not in their design, for how unwillingly soever people may come into a war, when they are in, I can't help thinking the generality of them, who have as much at stake as their neighbours, are for getting as well as they can out of it.

Your Grace will see by this I am not insensible of the faults of the Tories any more than of the other side ; but the speaking of them was no part of my design in my last, and that was the reason so little was said of them.

As to what your Grace says of the misfortunes of King Charles, every impartial judge must, in my humble opinion, allow you are perfectly in the right.

And I have the honour to be very much of your Grace's opinion as to the characters of the four that now govern the noble person I have for many years thought has acted a most unreputable and unaccountable part ; and as to the chief of the other three, he was never thought, that I could hear, a man of sincerity or probity ; and since I think nothing valuable without those qualities, all the good opinion or esteem I could ever have for them was grounded upon the place they had in the favour of your Grace's friends. There is no evil I can't believe of them, except with respect to the Pretender ; and I don't know that I ever heard of any reason to suspect three of them on that account ; and as to Mr. Harley particularly, I have lately heard my Lord Duke say, he believed him not to be in that interest. But without it, I think there is load enough on men who can be guilty of so much ingratitude to such friends, and to gratify their private ends, can be content to bring the public safety into the utmost hazard.

As to the good bills obtained in the late reign by the opposition of the Tories to the Court, I did not name them to commend them, so much as to shew that the Whigs, when in the ministry, were as true courtiers as the others, and, generally speaking, all the advantages the people gain against the prince, are owing to the side that is out, which ever they happen to be. The difference between the Exclusion Bill and the acts passed in relation to the

succession since the Revolution, is, that the authority of that bill would have been as great as the whole legislature could make it; whereas, in the acts since the Revolution, those that favour the Pretender will argue that they were from the beginning invalid, for the want of the rightful prince upon the throne. This is an objection could have no place in the Exclusion Bill, and therefore that must naturally have had a much greater effect towards quieting people's minds than any act made since. As to the Pretender, if Mrs. Morley lives and favours that cause, I think it may very probably succeed; for though I am persuaded the body of the Tories have at present no such intention, yet, considering their principles, the influence of such a Court, the little esteem they have for the House of Hanover, the number of pretenders that have a prior claim, and the constant division that will be kept up in the nation while there is such a Pretender, together with the fears the kingdom will be perpetually under from the attempts he may make to assert his right, and the handle it will give France to pick a quarrel with us when they please; such considerations as these make me think that the Tories may very easily be drawn into this side, if Mrs. Morley is inclined to it; and, I confess, I think 'tis very natural she should, if she is persuaded he is her true brother. To have her own misfortunes and those of her family completed in the ruin of the last branch of it, who had done nothing to deserve so hard a

fate, is what I think would shake a firmer mind than most women have ; and 'tis from thence I apprehend for the succession, which if she favours, nobody else I think can hurt ; and I am fully satisfied it is what is not at present meant by that party, whatever a few of them at the head may design. And the greatest reason I had to think Mrs. Morley is not inclined to it, is what I remember to have heard your Grace to say upon that subject, as to the inconsistency your Grace observes in being a party to the Revolution, and now living to hear of divine and indefeasible right. I think 'tis some excuse for the inconsistency, to say that what was done at the Revolution, was done at an age when she can't be supposed to have been of herself a very competent judge of such matters, but to have acted under the influence or the direction of those about her ; and therefore, if anything she did then was wrong, it ought to be imputed, not to her, but to them. If, indeed, she loves such sermons now as she once had learnt to despise, that is a weakness, but such a one as very few princes are so little proof against as flattery, especially as that which flatters their independency and imaginary divinity ; and 'tis this, the flattery of all parties when they are in, not the principles of any one, that is, *the great plague of courts*, and *the ruin of princes*. Tho', as to this particular, I don't remember in any sermon the divine right asserted in any other sense than as it belongs to all other governments, nor the word

indefeasible in any, which *is now downright nonsense*, since we have express laws to discharge subjects from their allegiance in such and such cases ; and therefore that word is now nowhere to be found, but in the senseless addresses of those who are not bred to letters, nor are presumed to weigh nicely their words.

As to the Irish grants, it was but reasonable that the forfeitures should go towards the expence of the war. But what was worst in that affair was, the King gave them all way, after he had promised from the throne he would not ; and no prince ever exposed himself so much as he did in the management of that bill, which in the end reflected on his ministers, though I know he was in his own temper obstinate enough. And some who are now, and indeed thorough Whigs, but very honest, and then not linked in with the leaders, as they have been since, did, to my knowledge, condemn the conduct of that ministry as much as the angriest Tory could do it now. But the grants in general that were given in the last reign, I did not intend to meddle with, or else I should not have forgot the great ones Lord Portland had, and the still greater he would have had, had it not been opposed by those who were not in, or of the ministry ; to pass by what was given to Lord Albemarle, for no merit that anybody knows of. But the mention of these two names furnishes me with so near a parallel to the case of your Grace and Mrs. Masham, I can't let it go without notice.

I believe your Grace will allow that nothing can come nearer the friendship you had with the Queen than that between Lord Portland and the King, and yet the early and faithful services of the most intimate friend were undermined by, and given up to, the secret workings and insinuations of the new favourite,* who had then, by all I could ever hear, as little merit as possible: and I have heard some true Whigs at that time express the utmost resentment upon the peerage he was advanced to. I don't remember he was thought to have anything to recommend him but youth and vice; and, if I mistake not, there was nothing the King took more offence at, in my Lord Portland, than his informing him of the ill courses the new Lord went into, who grew too fast upon my Lord Portland, that he had the forwardness to take his lodgings from him, like what your Grace complains of in Mrs. Masham, or, which is much the same thing, he borrowed them first, and then kept them; and in this he was supported by the King. And what this rise of the new favourite and the declension of the old one might have come to had the King lived, is hard to say. As to the length it was gone, the greatest difference between his lordship's case and yours is that he was dropt with more decency than your Grace has been, and there remained a civility when his friendship was in a manner gone. This I ever thought so great an instance of the weakness of princes that nothing after it could

* Lord Albemarle.

surprise me, except the particular case I now see, which, after all, has something in it that makes it extraordinary, tho' not so much as I should have thought it, had it not been preceded by so fresh an example.

As to the regiment desired for Colonel Hill, tho' I am sensible 'twas but one mortification of many offered to my Lord Marlborough, I can't but wish the provocation meant by it had been dissembled, rather than the thing denied, since no one thing, I fear, has been made a greater handle to mischief; and the denial could have no effect, since the intention of such a kindness was in all appearance too strong to be overcome, and the refusal could not but be very unpopular in the eye of the world. 'Twas the natural way of preferring one who was a soldier; and it will always seem hard a prince should not now and then dispose of a regiment, when her general has the disposal of so many. And the most unreasonable points are sometimes better yielded than opposed. By better, I mean those for one's own purposes; yielding in one makes it much easier many times to succeed in others; whereas a settled opposition produces more ill effects than I care to think on.

As to the Indian company, I shall only tell your Grace, that the great numbers concerned in it made it very impolitic to disoblige them; and I believe no body of men were treated with greater insolence than they were by a certain minister, tho' they con-

sented at last to let the government have the money they desired, which they had before refused or excused. They were rejected with the utmost contempt, and a new company was set, which lost the King the affections of a vast number of his people. And for the lieutenancies and commissions of the peace, such methods were used, by adopting in clubs, all over the kingdom, voluntary associations, for a pretence to put the old gentry out, and such scandalous little wretches were put in, as rendered that ministry universally odious, and the King could never after that get a House of Commons in tolerable humour.

As for what was done lately in the city, it is very extraordinary; but that was not over the whole kingdom, and the men taken in are the top-men on their side, are some of them men of very good reputation, and are, as to what at present makes so much noise, of the popular side of the question, that is, good Churchmen.

As to the promising to make no more changes, if the old ministry were not those that put the Queen upon it, the new ones did not much consult her honour in it; and after all the noise of the *slavery* she has hitherto been in, all the difference I fear is between being in *good hands and in ill ones*; for that she is as much in the hands of her ministers as before, I think one must be blind not to see.

Your Grace is very generous to excuse, as you do, the usage your Whig friends, as you are pleased to

call them, have shewn to Lord Marlborough. Whatever jealousy they might have at the beginning of the reign, there was none for it at the time I instanced, in the three or four last years, not to go further back. Besides that, I think they used my Lord Godolphin worse than they did him, the weight of the ministry lying upon him, while the other was abroad. And I have, among other things, heard with the utmost indignation, the bullying treatment his lordship received from the noble patriot,* the last Examiner was so free with. I mentioned in my last the clamour they made for changing the scene of war, and pushing it in Spain; which is such prodigious nonsense, that I can have no great opinion of their honesty who could, by such artifices, distress the ablest and best ministry, because they could not have everything. And there is one thing more I can't forget, it being in itself the most rude, and, in its consequences, what has hindered a good peace more than anything, except what is now doing, and that was, upon the day my Lord Duke came to town, after a most glorious campaign, to take the advantage of my Lord Godolphin going out of the House, to meet his Grace; and that, when they had told his lordship they had no more business, and that he might go, to take that time to propose a vote, which was carried thro' both Houses, to make no peace without the entire restitution of the Spanish monarchy. To treat such a ministry, such a general, upon such a

* Lord Wharton.

subject, and in such a juncture, in that manner,— what name does it deserve? I can't understand being for this or that party, but I can understand being for this or that man, this or that thing ; and to see men that have deserved so well of their country used so by their friends, for whose sake so many others have been disobliged, this, I confess, creates in me that resentment, that I can't think of it with patience.

For the usage the Queen had when Princess, I know from the papers which your Grace formerly honoured me with a sight of, that it begun with a Tory ministry ; but it was, I thought, continued and increased by the Whigs, whose reign was much longer. The disgrace of my Lord Duke, I thought, had been purely owing to his Dutch friends ; but for the Princess and your Grace, I am very sure there was great artifice used by the Whigs to render both contemptible and odious to the people. And this point had been so long pursued, and with such industry, as to have, in a very great measure, obtained its end ; and ill impressions I believe were made all over the kingdom ; I'm sure there, where one would have least expected it ; and from thence we may conclude of other places, tho' I never could give, myself, the least credit to any design of setting her aside. Nor did I mention it for that reason, but to account for the aversion she had to them, having had some reason to think that, how little truth soever there was in it, she and those about her be-

lieved it. Tho' what the Tories voted about retrieving was at that time not very reasonable, or decent, it shewed how willing they were then to make their court to his Grace; for I can't but think they meant that as well as to reflect on the King. And if afterwards they refused the pension, I believe it was because they had discovered, in the mean time, too great inclination in him and Lord Godolphin to favour the other side, and that they were not to be gained, so as to come entirely into their measures. That the Queen has, in any part of her life, ever really liked the Whigs, I own is to me a great discovery, which I had not before the least suspicion of, and gives me room to hope it may be so again; tho' I have observed in one of your Grace's papers, that the beginning of the differences between your Grace and Mrs. Masham was from the politics, which having read before I had your Grace's letter, it confirmed me in the opinion I had before in that matter.

What your Grace says of the Prince's allowance, I think confirms what I mentioned it for, that the Whigs have not made their court well in personal matters to the Queen. For to what purpose was an opposition that could not take place against so great a majority, and which was of no consequence, the matter being at bottom but a mere compliment, there not being the least appearance that the Prince should live to make use of it. I can't think 'tis always right to oppose everything that is not so, when one is assured beforehand 'tis in vain,

and may on occasions hinder us from doing what is right in matters of more moment.

As to the Admiralty ; tho' your Grace's opinion of Mr. Churchill may be very true, I can't think he could intend to manage the affairs of the fleet ill ; since that, in the end, would hurt the cause you suppose he would serve. Besides that, I don't remember the fleet was ever said to be filled with disaffected officers. And if all were true that the Whigs complained of, since it was a matter that so nearly touched the Queen, it might have been said in softer terms than it usually was : and after all, in this, and everything else in which they acted the patriots, it casts some reflection on them that all ended in themselves ; and nothing could content them till it was so. It is hard that no hands can be found but those of five or six persons, in which any part of the administration could be safe ; and yet of those, such as had been tried, the nation did not shew themselves very well contented with, which I know to be the case of true Whigs as well as Tories.

All the good your Grace says of Mr. Hoadley, in my humble opinion, he very well deserves ; but the circumstances of the address in favour of him were such, that in two days after, there was hardly a Whig in the House that did not think it very wrong and disrespectful to the Queen, and that it could have no other effect but to hurt both the man and cause they seemed to serve by it.

That Mr. Harley was a very careless secretary is

without dispute ; but 'tis at the same time true, that the persons employed in those offices have too generally been so, tho' not perhaps to that degree. And what appeared of his intelligence with France is much to his disadvantage ; it shewing an ill-managed and expensive affectation to appear considerable in his office, with very little or no advantage to the service, and possibly very much to our prejudice. This I take to be all that can be made of that matter, and I was sorry, in point of common justice, to see that matter so furiously pursued ; which I then thought could not but turn very much against them, and would justify the like violence in him whenever it should be in his power. As to the part of Mrs. Masham on that occasion, 'twas natural to give all the aid she could to a person she thought very innocent, and most unjustly persecuted ; and 'tis what anybody else would, with the same thoughts, have done, in the same case, and therefore nothing, I think, from thence can fairly be inferred to his prejudice.

As to the avowed irreligion and immorality I mentioned ; 'tis very easy for your Grace to be unacquainted with them, and it is not proper to trouble your Grace further on that subject than to say, that the mention of that and the church was purely accidental, to account for the clergy's aversion to the Whig ministry ; it being natural for men to be against those who were so openly against them. And if the men of the Tory ministry have

their faults, they don't so directly strike at religion, nor set themselves to run down those whose profession it is.

As to the persons your Grace is pleased to instance in, I have not the honour to know either, but from common fame, always had a great esteem for the Duke of Devonshire, as a man of great integrity, and in the true interest of his country, and there is nothing, I think, too bad to be said of the other. I can't tell how far it was practicable to gain the universities, but wish it had been a little more tried. Mr. Harley always set up to be the patron of Christ Church, and could they have been gained, the whole university had followed ; and I have seen a letter from one of the warmest of them to a friend, wherein he says they might be gained he was sure, if they were thought worth having, and in that nobody could do so much as Mr. Harley, and the gratifying Dr. Smalridge might have been a step to it. I have no personal acquaintance with him, but he is universally esteemed for a good man, and I can't but think he was worth obliging, and would have been obliged. As to what your Grace says of verses he has made, I never heard anything of them, but 'tis possible it may be true, for when he was a young man he was a good poet, and as men from their opinions of persons in high station from the notions their party puts into them, they may make great mistakes in the characters they take up with, and in the style of the letter to the Examiner, think those plagues and furies,

whom, upon better information, they would find to be blessings to a nation, and if Dr. Smalridge was possessed with such an opinion, he might make the verses your Grace mentions; and had his opinion been true, it had been no great reflection to his character, as long as he did not publicly appear to be the author of them. But why, your Grace will say, does he take up with ill opinions which he is not sure are true. I wish I could not excuse him by saying all the world does the same, everybody will be forming judgments of their superiors, and frame to themselves some character or other of them, and yet how few have the opportunity of knowing the truth of things; they must therefore make no judgments at all in such cases, or make them upon hearsay, that is from the information of those they converse with, and that, in other words, is with the men of a party, and generally they are the hottest, and consequently the worst of the party, who are busiest in running up and down to pick up stories, and spread them as secret history in all the compass of their acquaintance. 'Tis thus people are poisoned against persons, who deserve nothing less, and that without room to be undeceived, and I doubt by the way persons at the head of affairs are often unhappily prejudiced against men whose characters they have from vile party men, and of whom they would have quite other notions, if they were better acquainted with them. This is a misfortune great persons unavoidably fall into by narrowing their

conversation through the servile flattery of a few whom they make their confidants and give credit to in cases where they have no opportunity of judging for themselves. If he had any hand in such speech, tho' it may prove him an ingenuous man, I entirely agree with your Grace, it is not much for his reputation as a good man, in that part at least in which there are such solemn imprecations to what one can't but think a notorious falsity ; but I should rather think Dr. Atterbury was the chief operator, and I have been told the imprecation part was owing to ——— and the council, who thought it proper that the speech should be strongly touched with strokes that would give so much weight to it.

There is no room to doubt of the truth of what your Grace says in your letter of the difficulty of raising money, and the imprudence of disobliging those who have the power of it can, I think, admit of no answer ; and the fear I have for the issue of the war, supposing my Lord Duke to continue in his command, is, I own, from thence ; for I can't think, till I see a proof of it, that men can be so false to themselves, I mean a majority of a House of Commons, as to be willing to ruin their country ; and the best excuse which the chief actors can make, is a sad one, that they thought the peace when they began the show as good as concluded.

But in what follows, when your Grace reproaches the Tories for having been against all the securities that were ever asked for the House of Hanover, I

must beg leave to say, the Whigs have furnished the Tories with an excuse for it ; the great handle they have against the Tories is no doubt the pretence of Jacobitism, and I know but one way that can effectually remove it, and that is, bringing over the successor, which, since the Whigs have not done, when they were in power, the not doing it now should be no reproach to the Tories, since, if the reasons for the Whigs not doing it were good, the same are good still ; and if they were not good, before they accuse the Tories for this, they should vindicate themselves. 'Tis the clamour the Tories no doubt will always be plagued with, and there is no remedy for it, but by putting the Queen upon what one may be sure is very disagreeable to her, which I take to be the true reason why the old ministry did not do it.

As to what was said with respect to the legitimacy of the Prince of Wales, I agree with your Grace, it can't go far with thinking people, but then I beg leave to ask how very few there are who think ; and useful prejudices should not be taken off the minds of the people, till you are sure you succeed in putting into them something better in their room.

I think all the difference between your Grace and me, in what is said about hereditary right, and the Queen's fondness for it, is only this, that your Grace considers things on their best side, what human nature should be, and the generous and noble sentiments princes should be inspired with ; whereas I con-

sider the weak side of mankind, what in fact it is, and the nature of power which is timorous and jealous, and loves everything that flatters it. When I see the constant, steady, and unshaken sense your Grace has all along preserved for liberty, I don't wonder your Grace was so much taken with the Persian story, which could not give you more pleasure, than I have to see your Grace have so great a liking to the character of him who bravely preferred the liberty of his country to the chance of having the crown himself, tho' that which is the darling of princes, absolute power, went along with it. One can't without the most sensible pleasure read what your Grace says of having entertained the Queen many years with those notions, for, as I have observed before, whether they be exactly right for the people or not, and there may not be danger in carrying them too far, 'tis certainly the greatest happiness that can be wished for a Prince to be in love with those who are so much in love with liberty; and had her predecessors been as happy in their favourites, they might have reigned with infinitely more honour to themselves and more advantage to the people. I shall say nothing in defence of flattering sermons, but that it is so natural a weakness, and so much encouraged by those who have the influence, that I am not surprised to see preachers, upon public occasions, fall into it, tho', in their ordinary sermons, I think it is intolerable, and the best excuse, when 'tis well done, is that commending princes is one way,

and as things stand, almost the only one preachers have of admonishing them. I remember what your Grace observes about the Archbishop of York's inauguration sermon, which I beg leave to say, I think only proves he is not so good an orator as he should be, but not that he is not a good man, for tho' I have not the honour to be acquainted with him, he has had so universal and so established a reputation ever since I can remember, that 'tis impossible for me to doubt of his goodness, tho' in these party-times, there is nothing that is not capable of being misrepresented: for which reason I confess I form my notions of men from characters they had before the Revolution, when we were not so unhappily divided as we have been since. But ever since that time till the misunderstandings there have been at court for these few last years, nobody had better quarter than he from all sides, or had fewer enemies, and I have often thought it a misfortune that the ministry did not keep their hold of a man who had so much influence on the clergy. I only say this as to his being a good man, which does not make a wise man, and 'tis so very rare to see much political wisdom or abilities of that sort in bishops, that I don't wonder if he has not more of it; that is a thing I could say a great deal to, but it is very unnecessary at this time, especially at the end of so long a letter as I have made. Thus, by the liberty I have taken to give your Grace my thoughts upon everything your letters have led to, in doing

which I have been so far from flattery, that I have almost to an affectation seemed to differ from your Grace in some places, by which you will see I am no little admirer of that virtue of which your Grace is so great an instance, I need not say I mean sincerity, and that I hope will excuse the faults in other parts, and the incorrectness of the whole. I have been the less careful to check myself from running into so great a length, that your Grace might know more perfectly the man you honour with your confidence, and to facilitate the conversation you may please at any time to have on these subjects, with one who had so much at large explained himself.

I have looked over all the papers Mr. Boscawen has yet given me, and shall, in obedience to your commands, as soon as I can get time, give your Grace a fresh proof that I am ever without reserve,

Madam, Your Grace's most dutiful and most
obedient servant,
FR. HARE.

MR. MAYNWARING TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.*

I am very thankful for the great honour of your Grace's letter, and will keep the letter to the Tatler till I have the honour to see you. It is only a rough draft, out of which I might make something, and

* The date of this letter is very uncertain, but it would seem to have been written before the Duchess was turned out of her places.

alter or add what you pleased. But I believe you are more in the right in your present thoughts, and I had never any meaning in it, but to do as you would have me, having heard you say you should be glad to have something of that kind to show to 42 (the Queen). I designed to have sent it you by the post last night, because you used to like any long histories in the country. If 38 and 39 (Godolphin and the Duke of Marlborough) should be tired out, as your Grace seems to think they will be, Abigail will never be quiet with the other ministers, if by them you mean those that are now in. She must naturally try her own friends, and they would soon be ruined together. I was very sorry to find you mention your design of going abroad. Dr. Garth has told it to all the town, and I beg you will forgive me if I cannot help saying it appears to everybody so strange a resolution, that I do yet hope you will think better of it, unless there should be a chance at the Hague.* I hear 5 (Lord Somers), is very uneasy and much dejected about it, and will desire to speak to you, to which 78 cannot have contributed, who has not seen him a good while. Your Grace says you fear you are not clear from the passion of hatred, but the thoughts of this journey is a demonstration to the contrary; for nobody ever studied to please those they hate. Therefore, since it is certain that 240 (Lady Marlborough) does not hate

* Alluding to the offer which had formerly been made to the Duke of the Government of the Netherlands.

42 (the Queen), it would be much more natural as well as right in all respects, for 42 and 240 to shake hands, and promise to forget all that is past, and to live for the future, if not upon the former terms, yet at least like good friends and acquaintance; and I cannot but think that 39 (Lord Marlborough) has brought about a great many more difficult things than this in his life. What the temper of 42 (the Queen) is, God knows. I am sure I don't; but 240 (Lady Marlborough) is certainly of a forgiving nature, and not hard to be reconciled. I must humbly beg pardon for taking this liberty; but I should not deserve to be your Grace's secretary, if I had not written all this, which I think so right and seasonable. It was a common saying among the Heathens, such as your friend Seneca was, whom you mention, that the wise man hates nobody, and only loves the virtuous; and I verily believe your Grace comes up to at least the first part of their character of a wise man. I wish your Grace a good journey to-day, which I am afraid you will not have. The road is now the very worst that can be.

THE DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH TO ———.*

St. Alban's, April 23, 1711.

* * * * *

in the paper dated July the first, 1710, and I did the same ever since the Revolution; I have most of

* Imperfect.

the copies of the letters that passed through my hands of any consequence ; the letters I mentioned to the Queen upon the 12th June, 1710, were only copies of Letters from Lord Rochester, Mr. Harley, and all parties, to shew the great sense they had of Lord Marlborough's services to the Queen and to England, all which I hoped might contribute to move her. But I fear you will have some contempt for me when you come to my last expression in my letter of the 12th of June, after so much inhuman usage ; and I do assure you, that I could not have done it for anything in the world that related only to myself ; and after what has passed I do solemnly protest, that if it were in my power, I would not be a favourite, which few will believe ; and since I shall never be able to give any demonstration of that truth, I had as good say no more of it. But as fond as people are of power, I fancy that anybody that had been shut up so many tedious hours as I have been with a person that had no conversation and yet must be treated with respect, would feel something of what I did, and be very glad, when their circumstances did not want it, to be freed from such a slavery, which must be uneasy at all times, though I do protest that upon the account of her loving me and trusting me so entirely as she did, I had a concern for her which is more than you will easily believe, and I would have served her with the hazard of my life upon any occasion ; but after she

put me at liberty by using me ill, I was very easy, and liked better that anybody should have herfavour than myself at the price of flattery, without which I believe nobody can be well with a King or Queen, unless the world should come to be less corrupt, or they wiser than any I have seen since I was born. And I was so far from having any inclination to flatter, that I remember I read the Tatler, No. 14, with great pleasure, where he says, “bless us, is it possible, that when the necessities of life are supplied, a man would flatter to be rich, or circumvent to be powerful?” and then goes on with a great deal very fine, and ends, “that ’tis less despicable to beg a supply to a man’s hunger than his vanity.” I must add one thing more which I had almost forgot, that the Queen never gave any particular reason for all that violent proceeding against Lord Sunderland; she was angry with him about two years before for something in the Scotch business which was misrepresented to her, but she took his excuse upon it; and he certainly had said nothing disrespectful or uneasy to her, and she appeared so well satisfied with him, that just before he was put out (after she had allowed my Lord Godolphin to write to my Lord Marlborough upon it) she took care of his health and advised some medicine for him to take, I think for a cold.

MR. MAYNWARING TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

May, 1711.

I have one great satisfaction in lying in town, that the first thing I have to do in a morning is to acknowledge some favour or other received from your Grace; as I do now very thankfully that of your letter last night. And though you apprehend you write too often for a country correspondent, I am afraid I give you too frequent demonstrations that I think otherwise, by provoking you all the ways I can to write more. I never understood the true secret of Mr. Harley's coolness to Mr. Chetwynd in the business of the election, till your Grace explained it last night by saying that Bateman is concerned for that man, who I remember now married a niece of Sir Ch. Wren's, who has more interest with Mr. Harley than anybody but 256 (Mrs. Masham), so that it is certain that he is for Wren and will deceive Chetwynd, of whom I know nothing these two days, but he talked of going to Windsor. I know nothing of Bateman, but that he is Mr. Harley's private secretary, and, when I was at the Custom House, he recommended him to me, under a high character, to discover a French trade, but I did not like then his acquaintance, nor the person that recommended him, thinking there was some trick in it. And it is likely enough that he had then been at St. Germain's; and if that was known,

then the discovering of a French trade was to be the pretence. And as you observe that the Examiner always takes care to clear Mr. Harley from the imputation of being a Jacobite, to-day he has taken care to inform the world that he is to be Treasurer and be made a peer with Sir S. Harcourt, of which I had a long, and, I believe, a true account last night from an intimate friend of the Duke of Newcastle's, who was always that to 199 (Harley). He told me that 42 was the most impatient in the world to have 199 preferred ; that the President's place had been offered to every one of the cabinet round, and that the Duke of Buckingham would have it at last, to make way for Lord Powlet ; that there never had been any thoughts of Lord Nottingham, but quite the contrary ; that 199 would think his power at an end if that person were taken in, which would only give life and encouragement to that party which he intended to weaken ; and that this man agreed exactly with 240. That altho' 4 (Halifax), 5 (Somers), 6 (Sunderland), &c. had endeavoured to be well with 199 (Harley), he certainly fooled them, who were the last men in the nation that he would have anything to do with ; and that for 4 (Halifax), he was like the fly upon the wheel, that would always thrust himself upon people and fancy he did great matters, when in truth he only made himself ridiculous, and would never bring the least thing about. I am pretty confident that all this was said by the Duke of Newcastle. And I have wondered how 4's

great spirit could ever bear to speak again with 199, when he had been so shamefully exposed last year about his own going to Holland, and his compounding matters at home. But I see every day more and more that the generality of men have no wish or aim but to get power in any Court, and to get it any way, which looks like downright witchcraft in men that are easy in their fortunes. And I am entirely of the opinion of 78, who swears he would rather want than have anything to do with a Court, filled with knaves and vipers, and wonders how people can care to go into such a place. Indeed, when 240 (the Duchess) and his friends were in it, it was very agreeable to live amongst them, but it was they that made the Court desirable, and not the Court that made them so; and he has shewn sufficiently that he has not liked their company less for being out of it. And this is all natural, if people can advance themselves by sticking to their friends, and the principles they profess, they would be in the wrong if they did not. But how it comes to pass that men should think there is no earthly happiness but in a Court, for which they will lie and cringe and flatter, is very unaccountable; I believe such men must be covetous to the last degree, and quite unable to pass their time alone like 240, and study Plato. And therefore, as everybody's mind must be employed upon something—their's are wholly bent upon politics and interest. Yet I hope even such men as these

will not bring in France and popery, and that 240 will not, in that, be so true a prophet, as in the case of the union, which has certainly brought in all these mischiefs upon us, and was the favourite work of these wise politicians.

MR. MAYNWARING TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.*

Saturday Afternoon, 1711.

The affair of the Palatines is again put off. The House was employed in passing another censure upon the late management of the Treasury, because there is a debt standing out of the Land-tax which is very considerable; upon which, Mr. Lowndes was pleased to say that he had made a computation, and that there had not been lost eightpence in the pound in the receipt of the revenues of all those many millions so much talked of; which, I believe, is less than any private man loses in receiving the rents of a small estate. There was hardly a man that seemed in earnest about what was doing to-day, nor was there any division. I was told, as a great secret, by one that saw them himself, that 199 (Harley), and 200 (Boyle), were half an hour with 42 (the Queen), and came out together. If he comes in again, 'tis certain some middle scheme is

* "On the proposed unjust answer to be passed in the House of Commons on the financial administration of Lord Godolphin. Interview of Harley and Boyle with the Queen. Proposed changes to make way for Mr. Harley to be Lord Treasurer."—*Cowe*.

projecting, and that the Earl of Nottingham will not be President. It was said by one of the Tories to-day, that 199 and that Lord could not agree, and that the Duke of Buckingham would be President to make way for Lord Powlet. And I cannot but think it will end in something like that, by which the Treasury will be cleared for the great man to take possession of it. I was unwilling to say anything to your Grace of coming to town till it looked as if we should have fair weather, as it now does ; for I was really afraid that if you came whilst it was so wet about the courts of your new lodgings, you would be in danger of taking cold, tho' I cannot but think they must be dry within. But two or three days of this weather will make all safe ; and then I shall hope immediately to have the honour of seeing you here, you yourself having given a hint of it from St. Alban's. I am so much better that I hope I shall have no more occasion to lie out of town, which is very disagreeable, if one can live without it.

MR. MAYNWARING TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Friday Night, 1711.

The foreign post is come in, but brings no news from the army. In the Amsterdam Gazette there is an account of an answer from the Queen to the Dutch memorial, delivered by Mr. St. John ; in

which her Majesty assures the States that she esteems her union with them as the support of the common cause, and that, for this reason, she had done all that was in her power to destroy the views of those who had endeavoured to break that union, —that the propositions made by her plenipotentiaries in Holland to the States had *always tended to keep up* a good correspondence between them ; and she hoped by that, all occasions of fear were removed, &c. The same paper adds that it was given out that, when the Queen came to pass the Money Bill, it was probable she would communicate something about the peace to both Houses ; the reports of which increased every day, without *anybody knowing what foundation* there was for them. 78 (Maynwaring) is sensible that the ill-humours grow stronger in the House of Commons. The leather tax has enraged many who pretend an absolute promise to be exempted from that duty. And notice having been taken to several October-men how tamely they sat still when the ministers were rudely handled, they have answered that they were very glad to hear those persons abused, who had so long abused them. There is a great deputation, and high flattery sent to those Scot lords who voted against the Grant Bill. Lord Windsor has owned himself shamefully in the wrong, but says, he was assured, if he did not vote, he should destroy the man to whom he owed it that he had a right to vote at all. And the Earl of Stafford has said, that never man

was so pressed as he was ; and that he answered, that he hoped he had shewn zeal enough for the Queen's service, and that of her ministry, and must therefore desire to be excused from doing that which was contrary to his principles, his obligations, and his interests. 'Tis well the last was in the question.

MR. MAYNWARING TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Wednesday Evening, 1711.

I went to the House chiefly to see how they took the loss of the bill yesterday, and to learn any other news to send this night. I found the herd of those that were for the bill very mutinous, and I was asked whether, in our Court, as it was called, I ever knew a question of that consequence lost for want of one vote ? I answered, never, as I shall do to all such questions, whatever I may think of 199's true zeal to have carried it. Mr. Campion at last stood up, and in a very disorderly manner took notice of the speech of Lord Nottingham, and almost repeating it, adding that he hoped the House would have in their immediate thoughts the *resumption* itself, and think no more of *enquiries*, especially since that noble lord had declared he would be as much for the resumption as any person, and only disliked the last bill because it left room for partiality and favour. But all this was no more than an empty sally, and went off without being seconded ; so that it is to

be presumed there will be no more said upon that subject this year. The House then proceeded in laying the tax upon leather. Sir Humphry Polesworth opposed it furiously, and talked himself into a great passion, appealing to all country gentlemen (if there was any such thing left among them) whether more had not been voted this year than was ever given since the war ; and then he touched upon the near prospect of peace, which it seems is grown a sore place ; for up rose the secretary, and fell with much warmth upon Sir Humphry ;—did not wonder to hear such things said by him, who, he had reason to believe, was sorry that any supplies at all were voted ; and he went on with a good deal of serious heat and rudeness, which was returned by Sir Humphry, so much that I think they can have no friendly correspondence for the future. And 78 (I) happening to be near the secretary, asked him how there came to be so much roughness between him and his old friend ; who answered, that 78 did not know what reason he had for it, or else he would wonder why he said no more. Pray let 39 (Duke of Marlborough,) know I saw 199's (Harley's) brother, who says the money must be paid in to-morrow, which I have acquainted Mr. Edwards with ; so that matter is done. I think the former looked very uneasy.

MR. MAYNWARING TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Friday Afternoon.

I have had the happiness to dine again with the lady I mentioned in the morning, and her husband only. I have heard such histories of tittle tattle as are not fit to write, and are tiresome to hear.

* * * *

I cannot help naming to your Grace all those I have heard spoken of to be Lord President, and so leave you to choose out of them :—the Earl of Nottingham, the Duke of Buckingham, the Duke of Shrewsbury, and Lord Godolphin. If they mean to go on with the Tories, I think the first will be declared soon, otherwise he will be in danger of breaking with them ; and the only question seems to be, whether they will venture to accommodate the new treasurer, in making a vacancy for Earl Powlet. The two last will not be preferred very soon, who have nothing to hope for but from the favour of him who will think himself in the first place ; and yet I have not quite so ill an opinion of him as your Grace has. To-morrow will come on the business of the Palatines, which I will write you an account of at night.

MR. MAYNWARING TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Sunday Afternoon, July, 1711.

I told your Grace I would send by Hoppy's man,

but he being gone to-day without my knowledge, I must venture this one in a worse hand, I mean his master's. And now I will write what I promised. 285 (Mr. Craggs) was two hours with 199 (Harley), who began to tell him how concerned he was that 42 (the Queen) would do nothing towards the building at Woodstock. 285 (Mr. Craggs) said he was in hopes that matter had been over, having heard so much of it. 199 answered, so it was till the late bustle about the lodgings. "What was that, pray?" said 285. "Come, come," replied 129, "you must have heard what 240 has done, and the message sent by Mr. Cowper. In short, 42 is so angry, that she says she will build no house for 39 (Duke of Marlborough), when 240 has pulled hers to pieces, taken away the very slabs out of the chimneys, thrown away the keys, and said they might buy more for ten shillings," with a great deal of such stuff too impertinent to be mentioned. But this is made the pretence for what those lying wretches ever designed to do, and 285 (Mr. Craggs) was desired to acquaint 39 with it, and assure you that 199 would get it over as soon as he could; but that, as yet, 42 was inexorable. After this 199 run over all that had happened since he was out, and before, —professed how well he could live with 39,—wished to hear of some good success, which he said would set all right. 285 represented the difficulties 39 was under, but that signified nothing. Then he complained of the libels that came out. 199 said

39 must not mind them, that he himself was called rogue every day in print, and knew the man that did it [meaning, I doubt, 78 (me)], yet he should live fairly with him. But now they have made it impossible for anything to be done, they grow strangely impatient for action, and their whole business from henceforward will be to blast 39's character, and to set him down. But nothing is more malicious, or more villainously meant, than this turn about Blenheim, to make 39 believe that 240 is the cause of that not being done, which, of all things, he desired to have done. Pray give me the satisfaction to know if anybody else has spoke of this to you ; if not, it should not be mentioned, for the people will leave off telling me what they would not have known. Here are four pretenders to be Scotch secretaries, so some think none of them will be so; Dukes of Hamilton, Athol, Man, Isla ; they are all so hungry, that I wish one would take a hint of 42, and eat it up. I will carry this.

LADY SCARBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Stansted, Nov. 4.

I am mighty glad to hear the Queen is so well in health, and pray God to continue it. My not being able to pay my duty to her now, makes my illness a much greater mortification to me than it has ever been, I have endured so much pain within this four

or five days, that I doubt I must be contented to come upon a litter, for I don't know when I shall be able to bear a coach, and I am impatient to be where I may have the satisfaction of hearing often, though I cannot have the honour of waiting on the Queen, and I hope I shall be better in town. I am sure I am obliged to you, my dear Lady Duchess, for your good wishes. All I can say is, they are not lost upon me, for I must sincerely return them, and am as well pleased with what you told me in your last as you can be, and hope Abigail will never have it in her power to do any more mischief. I beg you will say all to her Majesty that you think fit, to make my compliments, and if you will but have the goodness to send me word by the bearer how she and your dear Grace does, I shall not desire to have a letter now you have so little time.

LADY SCARBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Nov. 5, 1711.

I was afraid you would think me mad by the letter I writ you the other day ; but I was but just come to town, and they told me your dear Grace was so. I am glad you are pleased wherever you are, but hope the Duke of Marlborough's coming will bring you soon hither. I have not been well enough yet to have the honour of seeing the Queen, but hear her gout is almost gone off. I thought I

should have found the Duchess of Somerset here ; but Lady Pembroke, who goes into the country herself on Monday, tells me she is going to Petworth to stay till after Christmas, which I wonder at, having heard that his Grace is so great a favourite as to be two or three hours at a time in the drawing-room. The Lady at Kensington, they say, has lain in very finely, though I meet with nobody that will seem to tell it upon their own knowledge. What you say is most certain, that all that has happened must have proceeded from her instigations, but it is most wonderful how it was possible, after so long and strict friendship ; and what makes it the more extraordinary is, that the very measures should be taken that you lost her favour by persuading her to. But, to be sure, that's fear more than inclination, and politic in the other, to save herself from being tore to pieces ; and, I believe, judging pretty right, for when people are satisfied as to their own particulars, they seldom trouble themselves, or are uneasy upon other's accounts, and this so generally goes through the world, and there are so many impertinences in it, that I don't wonder at anybody's growing less fond of it. But you are the person, above all others, that I would wish it might not be so ; for you have so much inclination to do good, that it would be ten thousand pities you should not have it always as much in your power as it has been.

I was in bed when I received your letter ; but I

hope this will come time enough to be sent by your keeper. If you do not come soon, I beg I may have the pleasure of hearing from my dear Lady Duchess again.

Remark by the Duchess.—From Lady Scarborough, a very kind letter when I had lost my interest. This is a great deal for her to say, for she had a great friendship for the Duchess of Somerset, who was gone to Petworth, after she had secured my place, and in the winter, that when she was sent for, it might look in the world, as if she knew nothing of my being removed.

MR. MAYNWARING TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Sept. 29, 1712.

There is something like good news come in this morning, which gives me spirits to write to your Grace; it is, that the allies have taken a strong post, called Fort Knoque, by surprise, which the officers here say is of very great consequence, (and the Duke of Marlborough knows better,) and that it will immediately oblige the Duke of Ormond* to act openly against the Dutch, or for them; and they say it will bring a very great weight upon the ministers here, and put them under fresh difficulties, and be of great advantage and service to the Dutch, if it is possible for them to subsist, which I heard from a good hand they are yet in hopes of doing, and are

* The Duke of Ormond had succeeded the Duke of Marlborough as Commander in Chief.

resolved to make another campaign, and perish by the enemy rather than submit to this destructive peace. I have also heard that the peace is not so forward as was expected, and that the parliament is not to meet till after Christmas. 'Tis said, also, that there are differences among the great men, and that the Duke of Shrewsbury, the Keeper, and St. John, are fallen out with the Treasurer; but I expect as good from that, and if the first should quit, which has been talked of, it would only be out of fear, by which I wonder he has not been restrained from joining in such desperate councils. The Duke of Argyle told one I know, that he would be here at Christmas; that he had the Queen's leave in his pocket, or would not have gone, for he would not have trusted the promise of any of the rascals about her. That the person he spoke to should yet find him an honest man. That it was impossible for people soon to be wise; but he hoped in a little while they would recover their understandings. That the family of Stuart owed his family two heads, which they had taken from it; and he neither could nor would serve any of them, except the Queen, whose health is constantly drunk in France, as I was told to-day by an English officer come from Spain,—that, stopping in his way at Bourdeaux, he was invited by a marshal of France, called Montrevel, to dinner, who, hearing an Englishman was there, was extremely civil to him; and since the quarrel between the two nations was now over, he said he would freely confess

to him, that they owed their liberty and lives to her majesty. That they had neither been able to remount their cavalry nor recruit their foot, and that he believed the Duke of Vendome had orders to withdraw the Spanish army, that King Philip might have been obliged to quit Spain. This was the condition of Europe, when affairs were changed in England : and all this stuff I have written to your Grace, to shew you that I have recovered my little understanding and lost memory ; which I hope you will not be sorry to hear, since I have been told (and it was a pleasure to me to know it) of your daily enquiries and great concern for my late insupportable illness, which I myself do now think I am quite cured of, without any use of physick or medicine, and hope to be still some years your secretary ; which office, though anybody may execute better than myself, yet nobody will ever like so well, nor enjoy with so much faithfulness or duty.

MR. MAYNWARING TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Friday Morning, 1712.

Your Grace will confess, when you have read this enclosed Medley, that there are others in the world besides myself that are not much afraid of some certain great persons ; for nothing sure can be harder than this parallel, and the conclusion is all true history. I was told last night that an express

was come from Holland which did not please the Court by any means. I heard also that, by the next post, we should have authentic proofs of the wicked design to have had the confederate army cut off by the French, whilst the Duke of Ormond marched away with his part of it. A Yorkshire gentleman, that I never saw before, said aloud in the coffee-house, upon occasion of mentioning Dunkirk, that he would lay a hundred pounds with any man there, that our ministers were hanged before we had it ; and Col. Hill, with another man, coming to the door there in a coach to call for Duke Disney, and the coachman having a dog on the box with him, the same gentleman swore a great oath, that he would rather be the dog between the coachman's legs than any of the three that were in the coach.

There is the greatest thing to be to-night that has happened in many ages. The Hanover Club dines at Spring Garden, and afterwards sally out upon the river in boats and barges, and with entertainments of musick and provisions for the ladies and their attendants. Every member of the club is to have his particular boat or barge, according to his quality or abilities, with a small vessel of wine and cold meat tacked to it. The trumpets are to be seventeen in number, and other instruments in proportion. I have the honour to be invited into the very top barge for company, beauty, and the like, and was forced shamefully to excuse myself, upon account of age and infirmities. Besides, I think it

highly probable they may all be taken up at their landing ; for at a time when they say there is occasion for a plot, I do not see but this may be easily made one, by the improvement of a less ingenious ministry than ours.

LORD CONINGSBY TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Dec. 11th, 1712.

The shortest day of the year dates this letter ; and to me the most melancholy, because it is the first after I heard of the Duke of Marlborough's leaving the kingdom (under God) he had saved. I, who have not a friend left, now he is gone (yourself excepted), have this only comfort, that I am sure his greatest enemies, on the side of the water where he now is, will be much kinder to him than many of the pretended friends he left behind him have been for some years past. They have, however, their full reward ; and, being true Irishmen, by cutting the bough they stood upon, themselves have fallen from the very top of the tree, and have broke their own necks, by their senseless politics of breaking his power, who alone had acquired by his merit interest enough to support theirs. Though I know more of this than any man now alive, yet I shall never make any other use of it, but to beg that you, during his absence, will never trust to anything they, or any one they can influence, shall either say or do, since, to my certain knowledge, they were ever enemies

to you and yours, and so my Lord Marlborough knows I have told him long, and if I had been so happy to have been credited, others had travelled, and not dear Duke of Marlborough ; but past time is not to be recalled. God preserve him wherever he goes ! It is time for me to return my thanks for the paper I have received about the chaplain, and to assure you that, now the Duke of Marlborough is gone, there is nobody now behind him in this kingdom more heartily and truly concerned for the happiness of you and yours.

LORD CONINGSBY TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Saturday, 6 o'clock.

Did I not know myself to be so entirely innocent, as never to have had a single thought that, if you had known it, would have given the least umbrage or offence to your Grace, the usage I have lately met with would be to me insupportable ; but, since that is my case, I can, though with great uneasiness, bear it now as I did once before, till the happy time will come when your Grace will be convinced that I am incapable of being otherwise than your faithful servant, and that those who have persuaded you to believe the contrary, are as great enemies to your Grace as I know they are to the true interest of their country. In the mean time, I beseech you to let me learn by degrees to be without that agreeable conversation, which I value more

than I can express. I can say no more ; but conclude with assuring your Grace that, use me as you will, it is not in your power to make me otherwise than your Grace's, &c.

MR. MAYNWARING TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Thursday Evening, 1712.

I am in hopes, &c.

* * *

I mend a little, and have seen a good many people to-day, who seem to take very right the prosecuting of the Duke of Marlborough about the building, and say it is so taken abroad by all the world, and rightly understood.

MR. MAYNWARING* TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Saturday Night, 1712.

I have very little to trouble you with, &c. I have heard two things said by two October men, which were pretty extraordinary. One of them being asked if it was sure that the chevalier St. George was turning Protestant, as was given out in one of Roper's papers, replied, that if it was in that paper it was possible that there might be something in it. And he wished to God it might prove true, for then, said he, there will be an end of all troubles. The other person spoke to a very different effect, for

* Mr. Maynwaring died in 1712, in consequence of a cold which he caught in the gardens at St. Alban's.

being upon the subject of the peace, he said he began to despair of it ; and as our ministers had ordered the matter, he saw no reason now, why the French should give it them, nor anything that they had to say to the French King, but, “ pray, sir, give it us, or else we are undone.” The last Paris Gazette, taking notice of the removal of the Lord Lieutenants here, concludes with saying, that all those that are now put in are true to the Church. There is a letter from Spain which says, they begin to confine all the German and Palatine officers that have been taken there, and that Mr. Stanhope, who Mr. St. John assured everybody was coming home, is so far from expecting it, that he is afraid of being shut up a close prisoner.* On this occasion I was told a remarkable story. When Mr. Stanhope solicited the council of Spain to be exchanged, he had the Marquis of Bedmar and some others that endeavoured to serve him, but the majority was always against them ; upon which they, desiring to know the secret of it, were told, that Mr. Stanhope was represented as a man that would do a great deal of harm, if he was suffered to go home, being of the wrong party, and one that would violently oppose the peace that was in agitation. So sincere have our statesmen been in their promises to get them exchanged.

* General Stanhope, with a body of British troops under his command, had been made prisoners of war at Brihuega, in December, 1710.

DR. HARE TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

London, Jan. 29, 1712-13, ten at night.

My Lord,

I can't let Mr. Priest go without sending my duty by him to your Grace, tho' my Lady Duchess' sudden departure allows me but a minute's time. In pursuance of your Grace's commands, I have recommended this gentleman to my Lady Duchess as one, who I think will, in every respect, answer your Grace's expectation ; the character I have of him from one who knows him intimately well, and whom I can entirely depend on is, that he is a very ingenious and a very good man, of great discretion and temper, and who has shewn in all the business he has been concerned in, a great deal of judgment and dexterity, and in all respects well qualified for an employment of this nature. I have myself had some knowledge of Mr. Priest for many years, and therefore, will presume to assure your Grace, that you will find he deserves this character, and that he may be depended on for honesty, virtue, integrity, discretion, great diligence, and a good knowledge in a great many things, without the mixture of that pride, impertinence, or superstition that makes man in his post often disagreeable to persons of quality. He has one fault, which is, too much modesty, which will make him, at first, appear to some disadvantage ; but your Grace's great goodness and humanity to all those who have

the honour to serve you will, I hope, soon remove all faulty degrees of it, and encourage him to such an openness as I know your Grace loves to see in those about you. I can't but say, on this occasion, 'tis with some regret that I am hindered by my circumstances and condition of life, from enjoying myself the honour I am recommending another to. No parts of my life having given me so sensible a pleasure as those in which I have had the happiness to see and hear the greatest man that this or some ages past have known. A man who has subdued himself as well as all that has come against him; and to make his character complete, appears so great under every condition as to be great in all. My lord, 'tis impossible for those who do not fear to see you without pleasure, and 'tis only because some men are afraid of you, that they take so much pains to make you seem unlovely; but as they are extremely wicked, so I hope they will be found to be very weak; and that as your Grace has for so many years been the darling of the country, a little time will make you so again, as you are already of the rest of the world—even of your enemies, whom you have used with so much humanity, that they can't but love the man as much as they fear the conqueror. My lord, I don't know when I may hope again for an opportunity of sending my duty to your Grace by a safe hand, which makes me glad to catch the present minute to pour forth my heart to one who knows I am sincere; that God Almighty

may preserve your Grace from all dangers, and bless you with health of body and tranquillity of mind, and restore you soon to your country, ashamed of its ingratitude and eager to receive you with the honours you deserve, which I am sure are the greatest they can give, is the most sincere and earnest prayer of,

My Lord, &c.

LADY MOHUN* TO THE DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH.

London, April 24, 1713.

What now seems to possess everybody's mind, is a new tragedy called Cato,† of which I suppose you have had a better account than I were capable of giving had I seen it ; but it is so generally approved, that the poetry must bear some proportion to the glorious subject. The cause is liberty ; the character the Duke of Marlborough, as near as one great, wise, and virtuous man can be compared to another. The time only makes a difference, but the great design is the same, only the opposition not so scandalous, though perhaps as ruinous, for here we can naturally produce a Cato ; but I doubt they cannot find a Cesar, except in his vices. Heaven for ever preserve our dear Cato, or public ruin will make every private person's case as precarious as mine.

* Elizabeth, daughter of Dr. Thomas Lawrence, and second wife of Charles, last Lord Mohun, who was killed in a duel with the Duke of Hamilton, Nov. 15, 1712.

† By Addison.

LADY MOHUN TO THE DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH

June, 1713.

How much more happy, &c. I am not at all surprised at the honour you express by the visit of a great man, for I hear they have at least the appearance of humanity abroad, and a seeming regard for virtue everywhere but here. Why should it be wonderful to see respect where it is so justly due? Is there, without flattery, such another man, or was there ever such another instance of baseness and black ingratitude mixed with such unaccountable folly and madness? You have read the play of Cato. The conclusion of the Elector's discourse puts me in mind of the scene between the two brothers—

"Oh Portius, is there not some chosen curse,
Some hidden thunder in the stores of Heaven,
Red with uncommon wrath, to blast the man
That owes his greatness to his country's ruin?"

I think one might better say his ill-gotten power rather than his greatness. I should never be weary of applications if I were not afraid of tiring you, but this I cannot forbear.

"When vice prevails, and impious men bear sway,
The post of honour is a private station."

'Tis pity this is true, and that the innocent must suffer for the guilty.

LADY SUNDERLAND TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Oct. 26, 1713.

(She speaks of the Duchess as having missed something that was sent, by going to Frankfort.) The two people I mentioned in my letter from Althorpe, were the Duke of Argyle and my Lord Dorset. I cannot see anything very comfortable to persuade my dear mama not to apprehend 11 (the Pretender's) power here, but we hope the best. There is no dispute but that 17, 18, 19 (Oxford, Bolingbroke, and Harcourt) are, as you think, doing all they can for the Pretender, but it is not so sure that they can compass it.

DR. HARE TO THE DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH.

Oct. 20, 1713.

(After apologizing for not writing to her, because letters are usually opened, he takes the opportunity of Mr. Cadogan's return to send a letter,—he condoles with her on her continuing abroad, neither understanding the language, nor taking to the manners. “In this will your absence appear a sort of pilgrimage.” After wishing she could return, he adds,)—But this wish has something selfish in it, as it is in vain longed for, while my Lord Duke continues abroad (which I believe everybody thinks necessary,) *for the same reasons that determined him to go.* It can hardly be desired you

should leave him, tho', notwithstanding the fatigues he has undergone, he has but a tender constitution ; and upon that account, besides a thousand other reasons, can very ill be without your Grace, in whom he has all the assistance that good skill and particular knowledge of his constitution, and the most affectionate care, can give. But 'tis impossible you should not think such a life very disagreeable, and it must add to my Lord Duke's uneasiness to see you have so much. But your Grace has courage and a glorious cause, which will overcome all difficulties. And if honour can be a compensation for the want of so much agreeableness of life as you have left, in leaving an ungrateful country, you have the satisfaction of receiving in all places the greatest marks of true esteem that can be expressed. All people shew the sense they have of his Grace's immortal actions, and confess 'tis the cause of Europe you have made your own. Mr. Cadogan will be able to tell your Grace more of the state of things than I can write : all I can say of them will be in a very few words, that they continue as they were, without any alteration, unless for the worse. But the Pretender's hopes, I trust, are removed a little further off (tho' perhaps not the less secure for that) by the perfect good condition of the Queen's health, who is, in all appearance, much better than last year.

The Examiner would not have us look abroad, or trouble ourselves with foreign affairs ; but some of

us cannot help pitying the Catalans and the poor Emperor. Of late some fearful fools begin to be in pain for the Dutch ; and all this we are to be unconcerned spectators of. Heaven only can clear up this dark scene, or know what it will end in. Nothing human can deliver people from the dangers that threaten, who seem to think of nothing less than delivering themselves. What winter may produce is hard to say ; all visible hopes of safety are from your side. God preserve the life on which so much depends, which here would be too much exposed to villainous attempts, when it would be most wanted. * * I am glad to find, by Mr. Cadogan, that your Grace is so well contented with Mr. Priest.

I can't help often wishing myself with your Grace, and could it be done without giving a handle to the lying spirit, I should be very desirous of your Grace's leave to wait upon you, and to spend a few days under his *eye*, whom I never saw without pleasure ; but wherever I am, I am with the most perfect gratitude, your Grace's, &c. &c.

MR. MOLYNEUX* TO THE DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH.

Hanover, May 7, 1714.

(After condoling with the Duchess on the loss of her daughter, he proceeds.)

* An Irish gentleman sent by the Duke of Marlborough to Hanover, to counteract the practices of the English ministers with the Elector. See *Coxe*, vol. iii. p. 566.

I would to God I could send you as good news from hence as your Grace sends me, when you say there is hope of my having the honour to see you in a country-house in England. I have not yet been at Court, but when I have, I shall have the honour to write to you again. As yet I have only heard that Mr. Harley's forerunners have made a great noise of what he was coming to do for this family. A pension to the Electress, and invitation to the Electoral Prince, were as positively given out to be his business here, as that he was to come. But since his arrival this is all dwindled into nothing ; we hear no more of these things, and his great promises to the Court amount to no more than the giving an office of 400*l.* per annum to one Ward, an English chamberlain to the Electress, a Tory, for which, and for another accident that happened here some days since, they tell me he will certainly be disgraced. This accident relates to Lord Marlborough, and therefore I must tell it to your Grace. One St. Leger fell in company here with the servant of one Murray, a gentleman in Mr. Harley's suite. The servant abused Lord Marlborough and the Elector of Hanover most terribly ; upon which St. Leger would complain to the Electress, but Ward would not introduce him, but sent him to Harley. He received him very coldly. Murray was present at the complaint, yet neither of them promised any satisfaction, not so much as to turn the servant off. This made a noise in the town, and

flew to Court, where, at length, the Rheingravine introduced St Leger, on Friday last, to the Electress and to the Elector. He was examined then, and last night again ; and this affair is like to make much noise, for St. Leger is ordered not to leave the town without orders. I shall let you know if anything comes of it. Your Grace must give me leave to make the compliments of the Elector of * * * and the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel to my Lord Duke, and of the first to your Grace. While I had the honour to be at the Elector's Court, he mentioned this to me several times, and charged me to be sure, if I had the honour to write to Antwerp, not to fail of assuring you both of his respects. The good old Elector of Mayence was not at home when we were there. The Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel did me the honour to talk to me two hours on the present state of affairs, and, in my opinion, talks as boldly and as heartily for the common cause as it is possible. He went so far as to say, that the "*bons Anglois et la famille d'Hanovre pouvoient s'assurer toujours de l'assistance des Princes de l'empire en cas de besoin ;*" that is, that the honest party in England, and the House of Hanover, might depend on the assistance of the Princes of the empire in case of need. He drank my Lord Marlborough's health every day at dinner and supper : and the night I took my leave of him, he charged me to let my Lord Duke know that he is very much his humble servant,

“ et qu’il est encore le même honnête homme, qu’il l’a toujours connu, et qu’il continuera de l’être en cas de besoin en Angleterre ;” that he is the same honest man my Lord Duke knew him, and that he will continue to be so in case of necessity in England.

I have not yet passed through one Court where they do not speak as plainly as ever. It was said at Antwerp that England was betrayed,—that we shall have the Pretender, and that the peace is infinitely disadvantageous to the general good of Europe. Even the Court of Wolfenbottel and those Courts whose particular interests have made them implacable enemies to the House of Austria, cry out unanimously against the peace that England has made for themselves, and would have made for others. You may believe, when they are so hearty in disapproving of the present ministry, they are very hearty in their love and respect for my Lord Duke ; and I can, in general, assure your Grace, he is as universally loved in Germany, as he deserves to be in England.

Upon speaking at Cassel of the 15th Article of the Preliminaries between the Emperor and France, which relates to the restitution of the Electors of Bavaria and Cologne, it was observed to me that the words are so generally conceived as to give many people apprehensions that the principalities of Mindelheim and Lichtenstein will also be restored to the Elector of Bavaria. It is certain that

this observation is true; and as I have some thoughts of going to the Congress of Baden, I would not neglect to let your Grace know it; for in this case, if the Duke of Marlborough thinks this matter not already determined, and that it is worth while to have anybody there that would in private let him know the steps that are constantly made in that affair, I am sure it would certainly determine me to go there, and give him the best information I am capable of.

If I don't go to Baden, which I shall with great pleasure, if I can be of any use to my Lord Duke, I think to continue my route northwards, as I designed when I left your Grace. Wherever I am, I shall have an infinite pleasure in shewing your Grace that I am really my Lord Duke's and your Grace's most dutiful, &c.

MR. MOLYNEUX TO THE DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH.

Hanover, May 18, 1714.

It was delightful to see how all the suite received the news of the writs being demanded. The dear friends* of the House of Hanover, that have nothing nearer at heart than this House, that came to invite the Prince over, and have been crying out this many a day that they desire nothing more than his presence in England, when a step is made to it are all in alarm, concerned to the last degree;

* Meaning Mr. Harley.

and, because they dare not speak against the thing itself, yet are so punctilious with their dear friends, that they cry out loudly against the manner of it, and are mighty angry that the Queen was not acquainted with it. Sure a Prince of the blood should have applied to the Crown, they cry, and nothing was ever so indecent and ill-bred as the like; and if they had had patience, we should have invited him ourselves. Now all this is very merry. My intimate friend sends to invite me to dinner, and I, in friendship and familiarity, send to invite myself the same day; and this my dear friend takes extremely ill, thinks it a breach of all form and good breeding, turns my servant down stairs for bringing him the message, and yet sends me word he loves me as well as ever for all that: such stuff are silly rogues reduced to, when they dare not speak out. For this, God be thanked, is a plain thing, that they are not yet so strong as to dare to declare openly against this House.

Mr. Schutz arrived here on Saturday, and has brought the writ with him. He went on Tuesday to the Elector at his hunting seat, for he had not yet seen him. Whether the Prince will go or not, is, I am sure, not yet determined. People speak very differently of this matter, but in a week or ten days we shall know certainly. All that I can yet tell your Grace is, that he is very desirous himself to go, and I wish everybody else were as resolute in our favour. This is as certain as that I am with the truest respect, &c.

LADY COWPER TO THE DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH.

June 26, 1714.

Nobody in the world can be more grateful than I am for the favour of your Grace's letter, which I got last night from Mrs. Clayton. I heartily rejoice at your Grace's health, and I want words to tell you how delighted I am at that part of your letter which looks like giving the least colour to the agreeable news we have that your Grace intends soon to visit England again. I almost hope now you may come with safety, after the votes * that have passed within these four days. At least I hope our danger is not so near as we thought it, and my spirits are raised that I bear the excessive heat better than I did a week ago. I fancy your Grace must have been much surprised when you first heard of the resolution of the Parliament; I think everybody here was thunderstruck with it, it was so unexpected; and I cannot tell you how apish everybody is upon it. There are a thousand conjectures upon it, and perhaps every one false. But I think it is generally attributed to the ill understanding among great folks. For my share, if we are but safe, I care not from what cause it comes.

* * * * *

The prints to-day say that a certain person is come to the coast of France. I hope it is not true. If it is, we are in a worse condition than the brave

* "Probably the proclamation offering 50,000*l.* for the apprehension of the Pretender."—*Coxe.*

Catalans, for we have not virtue enough to make any resistance.

I agree with your Grace that that unfortunate people cannot be enough lamented, and I can hardly wish the Duke of Berwick to go against them, though it would quiet our minds ; for I cannot but hope that Providence will do something for them yet.

I am infinitely obliged to your Grace for the kind offer you make me of getting me anything where you are. At present I happen to want nothing, so I will not trouble you for anything, only I beg you would bring my Duke and Duchess of *bon homme* ; and it will be the most agreeable thing you can do in the world for me ; and, to repeat your own words, the sooner the better.

Mr. Swift,* I am told, is retired to a vicarage he has in Northamptonshire, and complains that nothing but perjury, treachery, and lying, are to be met with in this town, which makes him resolved to try to find innocence in the country. When he complains, sure it must be very bad.

P. S. Reading over my letter, I perceive that your Grace will remark in three days' time it has been writing, how here, in this town, we are divided between hope and fear. It is a dismal condition to be always tormented with one of those passions. But in my experience I have found that one hopes and fears a thousand things that can never happen ; and yet there is nothing but death that puts a stop to

* Swift retired from London in July.

either of them ; for all people in the world have passed their lives either in hoping or fearing, and will do so in spite of all experience. Pray God our fears may be without ground, for I doubt our hopes are so.

THE DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH TO MRS. CLAYTON.

1714 or 1715.

I know my dear Mrs. Clayton is full of business, however, I can't send a messenger to London without writing to you, and assuring you that I shall be ever most faithfully and tenderly yours, and I was sorry that I could not come to you before I went out of town ; but my hurry was very great, and the Duke of Marlborough had staid so long for me, that he was very peevish ; but now we are both very easy, and the first thing that came into my mind this morning I will repeat out of Mr. Cowley :—

'Tis no small prince, who every day,
Thus to himself can say,
Now will I sleep, now eat, now sit, now walk,
Now meditate alone, now with acquaintance talk.

You will, by this, see how different my fear is from those that are crowding for places ; and yet the world has so wrong a notion of me, as I was told, to believe that I wish for my old one : and I doubt the long whisper I had with her Royal Highness the night before I came away, will confirm them in that opinion, tho' the chief reason of it was to vindicate myself from what her Royal Highness seemed not

to believe, that I was ignorant of the Duchess of Montague's being of her bedchamber, which I again assured her that I was, and I took that occasion to tell her what I had designed to say to her after she had made her choice of all her ladies, that I hoped she would believe it was not for want of all the duty and respect imaginable, that none of my family had offered themselves to her Royal Highness, but the King not having given all the men employment, tho' they had great merit in having been always for his Majesty's interest, I did think it reasonable that her Royal Highness should oblige other families in letting them have the honour to wait upon her. Pray present my humble service and thanks to Mr. Clayton. I will make no speeches for the trouble he has in my affairs, believing he does not care for them no more than your faithful, S. M.

St. Alban's, October the 23rd.

Pray don't give yourself the trouble of writing to me, my dear Mrs. Clayton, if you have not time to do it easily, for tho' it is always a great satisfaction to me to hear from you, I would not have it when you are hurried, and I shall never impute the want of it to any thing but want of time.

DR. HARE TO THE DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH.

Amen Corner, Aug. 29, 1717.

Madam,

I am extremely obliged to your Grace for the honour of your letter of the 26th, in relation to the

bishoprick of Worcester. For myself I can truly say I had no manner of expectation that my request should succeed at this time; but I have some friends I could not persuade to be of the same mind. In compliance with them I did what I did without proposing any other satisfaction to myself but that of knowing in what manner it would be received. My Lord Duke, considering the condition he is in, I should not have writ to, but that I could not very decently omit it, when I applied to others, but your Grace saw it was next to not writing at all, nor did I expect any answer at the time I writ to his Grace. Lord Godolphin and Lord Cadogan happened to be both in town: the latter told me with great professions of kindness, that he believed the thing was already promised, but that he was just going to Hampton Court, would try what could be done, and send me an answer, which he did in the civilest terms possible; but the true answer I had from Lord Godolphin, who writ to my Lord Sunderland in my behalf like a true friend. His Lordship deferred his answer till he saw him, and then told him, that the thing was so fixed some time ago, that it could not be altered; but if it had not been so, he could give his Lordship no hopes of my having it without first coming to an explanation with me. I own to your Grace, this last part of his Lordship's answer was so shocking to me, that I immediately set pen to paper and wrote a long letter to your Grace, who, I knew, was in the greatest intimacy with his Lord-

ship, complaining of such usage, where I thought I had so little reason to expect it ; but after I had writ the letter, I threw it aside, not thinking it reasonable to give your Grace any uneasiness on my account, nor very decent to express the resentments I could not but have on that occasion. But since your letter naturally leads me to it, give me leave, Madam, to say, that I did hope, that the fidelity and attachment I had shewn to my Lord Marlborough's interest for seven years past, to say nothing of former services, would have procured me a civil denial at least. But I see how it is, the friendship I have the honour to have had from a child with Lord Townshend, weighs more against me than all other things can do for me ; if it must be so I must be contented ; false and ungrateful to friends, because, under the displeasure of a court, I have not been yet, and should I begin to be so now, I am sure your Grace would scorn me for it. You know, Madam, upon principle I have acted. I endeavoured to serve my friends, not in the height of their power, when it would have been serving myself ; but at a time when I could expect no reward, but the resentments of an arbitrary ministry, and the ill-will of their whole party ; which I can't say I should have been so forward to draw on myself, could I have foreseen those I thought my friends, would so soon forget that, which I am sure my enemies will remember.

But to return to Lord Sunderland, I believe his

Lordship would think me very dull if I did not interpret his answer as a declaration that I am to expect no favour during his ministry ; indeed, had it not been his resolution to defeat my expectations, I am fully satisfied his Lordship would not have been in such violent haste to procure a promise of Worcester before it was void. If this be in earnest his Lordship's meaning, I beg it as the last favour of your Grace, plainly to tell me so ; and in that case I most faithfully promise never more to give your Grace the least trouble on my account.

If I am to expect as little favour from a Whig ministry as from a Tory one, it shall be my comfort, that I am conscious to myself, I have not deserved it : I have not deserted my friends ; whether they have me, the world will judge. But I say not this to reproach your Grace, whom I have always found more ready to do favours, than I have been to ask them, of which I shall always retain so grateful a sense, that no usage from others shall make me in any thing act contrary to what I have so long professed myself.

FR. HARE.

Be pleased, Madam, to give my most humble duty to his Grace.

THE DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH TO BISHOP BURNET.*

You ask what it was that first stuck with me : I never had any difficulty or dispute with Her, but

* " In this letter the Duchess frankly avows that she never or very

about such things as were plainly for her own good, or about the Whig cause, which she was always averse to in her nature, but would certainly have come into at last, when she was persuaded to it by those men that had governed her so long, if it had not been for the secret influence of Mrs. Masham and Mr. Harley, which was a dead weight upon all the councils. The narrative in 1709, shews the beginning and true cause of all the difficulties I met with, which was the Queen's secret passion for Mrs. Masham, and the ill and crafty use which that base woman made of it. At the same time that the Queen would not own that she had any kindness for her, but as a bedchamber woman, till she suffered her insolently to prefer in my office a woman that had served me formerly, and had been ungrateful to me for the favors I had done her. I have not all my papers here, but as soon as I can I will send you copies of every thing. You ask what were the schemes proposed. I had no scheme of any kind, but to get honest men into the service, and such as would not give us up to France. And if it be that I was too warm and pressing in that matter, it should be considered at the same time, that I had long had opportunities of knowing men and their particular actions, and there were some employed by the Queen at first that I actually knew were against the government. How then could I honestly be rarely succeeded in her endeavours to recommend the Whigs till the ministers themselves came into it at last, though she followed it very closely with them as well as with her Majesty."—*Coxe*.

silent, or how better employ my interest and credit than in getting her Majesty out of such hands, though I must tell you, I never, or very rarely succeeded in any endeavour of this kind, till the ministers themselves came into it at last, though I followed it very closely with them, as well as with her Majesty. As to the names, Morley and Freeman, the Queen herself was always uneasy if I said the word Highness or Majesty, and would say from the first how awkward it was to write every day in the terms of Princess, &c. And when she chose the name merely for herself, for no reason that I remember, but that she liked it, or the sound of it, I am not sure that I did not choose the other with some regard to my own humour, which it seems in some sort to express.

You enquire into the ground of favour to the Hills. I can only tell you that I did not know there were such people till about twenty years ago, when I was told by an acquaintance that I had relations that were in want, and that this woman was a daughter of my father's sister. My father had, in all, two-and-twenty brothers and sisters, and though I am very little concerned about pedigrees or family, I know not why I should not tell you, that his was reckoned a good one, and that he had in Somersetshire, Kent, and St. Alban's, four thousand pounds a year. However, it was not strange, that when the children were so many, their portions were small, and that one of them married this Mr. Hill,

who had some business in the city, either as a merchant or proprietor, and was some way related to Mr. Harley, and by profession an anabaptist. From the time I knew their condition, I helped them every way, as much as I could, to which I had no motive but charity and relationship. But after I brought this woman into the court, she always had a shy reserved behaviour towards me, always avoided entering into free conversation, and made excuses, when I asked her to go abroad with me. And what I thought then ill-breeding, or surly honesty, has since proved to be a design deeply laid, as she had always the artifice to hide very carefully the power and influence which she had over the Queen. An instance of which I remember, when I was with the Queen at Windsor, and went through my own lodgings a private way and unexpected. She unlocked the door in a loud familiar manner, and was tripping across the room with a gay air, but upon seeing me, she immediately stopped short, and acting a part like a player, dropped a grave curtesey, and when she had gone a good way without making any, and in a faint low voice, cried, "Did your Majesty ring, pray?" And to cover still her power with the Queen, even after she married, when I asked her whether her Majesty knew of her marriage before it was done, she looked up to the ceiling a good while, in a confused awkward manner, and then said, Yes, the Queen taxed her with it, and she believed the bedchamber women had told it her :

the truth was, that her Majesty was present at the marriage, with no other worthy person, but the Scotch doctor, and had called for so much money more than usual just before, that it is reasonable to conclude, good part of it was laid out upon that great occasion, and at the time that I came to present her sister, I asked where the Queen was, and if she would not go to her, upon which she stared back as if she had been a stranger in the place, and had hardly known the way to the Queen's closet. And this whole time Mrs. Masham took all occasions to say that sure no family was ever so much obliged to another as hers was to me. The Queen was still professing that she was not the least altered. I was groom of the stole, she but a dresser ; my relation, that owed everything to me, was married without my knowledge, and her Majesty, that never for thirty years kept anything from me, concealed this important secret, till I had it from other hands. But a good deal of this is mentioned in another paper, and if there be repetition in this, I hope you will pardon me, because it is impossible for me to remember all the papers I send you. You have already another paper of her ingratitude, and I can add no more to it, unless it be that Mr. Masham owed to me the first three things he had at court, page, equerry, and groom of the bedchamber ; at least he thanked me for them all, even the last, for which he has very honourably taken Lord Ryalton's employment, who must now depend in great mea-

sure on his friends for his support, and he is very unlikely even to have given any offence to her Majesty or anybody else.

I observe that you take notice of my not attending so much as others have done, and give some good reasons for it, to which may be added, I did constantly write abundance of letters, in answer to the petitions and applications that were made, by which her Majesty was pleased, because I saved her a great deal of trouble, and if, besides this, the time be considered that I passed in seeing her in private, which is what she always desired most, it will answer more than the attendance of other people. And if I had been a diligent waiter in public, I should never have had a moment to do anything for myself.

I will send you, in a short time, a great many more papers, and one in particular in which you yourself are concerned, giving an account of some conversation which I had with the Queen upon your subject. I cannot recollect the time, not having the paper here, further than it was soon after Mr. How died ; and after Lady Fretcheville went to see Mrs. Young at Salisbury.

Endorsed.—An answer to the person that asked me what first stuck with me.

This was written to a friend of mine,* part of instructions to write a history, which he did write, but not near so well as that which he wrote after I left England.

* Bishop Burnet. The Duchess of Marlborough, who was extremely anxious that the secret history of her quarrel with the

Queen should have a place in History, was in the habit of writing numerous Narratives, Memorials, &c., some of which she now communicated to Bishop Burnet, who was occupied with the "History of his own Times;" and the substance of many of them were given in the "Conduct," written afterwards under her own eye. Many of the original Narratives are still preserved among her papers, and from them the following Characters of her Contemporaries have been selected.

CHARACTERS OF HER CONTEMPORARIES,

BY THE DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH.

ON THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH'S DISMISSAL FROM
ALL HIS EMPLOYMENTS IN 1712.

THIS removal of the Duke of Marlborough was justly looked upon as a finishing stroke, and an effectual declaration that every thing was now to be in concert with France. Every thing, indeed, seemed dictated from thence, and every step looked more and more like the counsels of Versailles. But I enter no further into what all the world was afterwards a witness to.

The fatal period had now the finishing stroke. The noblest scheme that was ever laid for the preservation and establishment of the liberties of Europe, for reducing the exorbitant power of France, for the security of Great Britain and the protestant religion for ages to come from any probable attempt, and a scheme that had been blessed beyond all expectation, that had proceeded gloriously, and was now come within view of the great ends proposed, this scheme was now all at once dissolved, and broken to pieces ; chiefly I may say by the un-

bounded ambition and resentment of one man, and by the weakness, credulity, and inconsistency of one woman.

When I reflect upon all this, I sometimes think with myself, that when posterity shall come to read the annals of our times, a scene of glory, conquest, and victory without intermission, at last ending in this manner, were there not authentic records to the contrary, they must certainly conclude that just in the most unhappy crisis Queen Anne the wise, the good, the just, the honourable, unfortunately died ; and that she was succeeded by another of the same name, but of a temper and principles directly opposite ; one who loved only those whom her predecessor hated, and hated those whom she loved ; one glorying in breaking the contracts and unravelling the scheme in which her predecessor had triumphed ; one taking a pride in raising those up, whom she had cast down as public enemies, and in casting those to the earth whom she had seated on thrones ; one, in a word, untouched with the miseries of her country and posterity ; unmoved with the unhappiness of the world about her ; giving back, as it were, in sport, all the glories and victories purchased with her subjects' blood and treasure, and abusing them to their own unhappiness and misery ; one incapable of either understanding or following the good counsels which had made her predecessor so great ; but selfish, passionate, headstrong, preferring the satisfaction of her own private

humour, or resentment, before the safety of her own people, and of all Europe. But when they shall be assured by all the monuments and records of history, that this was one and the same Queen Anne, who filled the whole period of time : the same, who, after having fought so long and so successfully against France, raised it to a greater pitch of power than it ever enjoyed before ; the same who, after having made Charles, King of Spain, presently dethroned him ; the same who, after having entered into the most solemn alliances and contracts, broke through them with so much resolution and ease ; the same who, after having owed the quiet and security of her life to her great general, and other faithful ministers, afterwards rewarded them with all the ignominy and disgrace she could heap upon them ; the same who—but I am weary of recounting these unpleasant things. When posterity comes to be assured of this, will it not shock and surprise them ? And will not many be apt to ask, what part her justice had in this procedure ? What her piety ? What her gratitude ? What her honour ? What her faith ? And what her constancy ?

I will give no further answer to these questions, but what these papers have already given. Facts speak too plainly to be denied or obscured. A short character of that Princess, drawn from these facts, and some other notices, of the truth of which I am certain, shall now conclude these memoirs.

Queen Anne had a person and appearance not

at all ungraceful, till she grew exceeding gross and corpulent. There was something of majesty in her look, but mixed with a sullen and constant frown, that plainly betrayed a gloominess of soul, and a cloudiness of disposition within. She seemed to inherit a good deal of her father's moroseness, which naturally produced in her the same sort of stubborn positiveness in many cases, both ordinary and extraordinary, as well as the same sort of bigotry in religion.

Her memory was exceeding great, almost to a wonder, and had these two peculiarities very remarkable in it, that she could, whenever she pleased, forget what others would have thought themselves obliged by truth and honour to remember, and remember all such things as others would think it an happiness to forget. Indeed she chose to retain in it very little besides ceremonies and customs of courts, and such like insignificant trifles; so that her conversation, which otherwise might have been enlivened by so great a memory, was only made the more empty and trifling by its chiefly turning upon *fashions* and rules of precedence, or observations upon the weather, or some such poor topics, without any variety or entertainment. Upon which account it was a sort of unhappiness to her that she naturally loved to have a great crowd come to her; for when they were come to Court, she never cared to have them come in to her, nor to go out herself to them, having little to say to them, but that it

was either hot or cold ; and little to inquire of them, but how long they had been in town, or the like weighty matters. She never discovered any readiness of parts, either in asking questions, or in giving answers. In matters of ordinary moment, her discourse had nothing of brightness or wit ; and in weightier matters, she never spoke but in a hurry, and had a certain knack of sticking to what had been dictated to her, to a degree often very disagreeable, and without the least sign of understanding or judgment.

Her letters were very indifferent, both in sense and spelling, unless that they were generally enlivened with a few passionate expressions, sometimes pretty enough, but repeated over and over again, without the mixture of anything either of diversion or instruction.

Her civility and good manners in conversation (to which the education of great persons naturally leads) were general enough till in her latter days her new friends untaught her these accomplishments, and then her whole deportment was visibly changed to that degree, that when some things disagreeable to her own honour or passion have been laid before her, she would descend to the lowest and most shocking forms of contradiction ; and what, in any of a meaner station, would have been esteemed the height of unpoliteness.

Her friendships were flames of extravagant passion, ending in indifference or aversion. Her love

to the Prince seemed, in the eye of the world, to be prodigiously great ; and great as was the passion of her grief, her stomach was greater ; for that very day he died she eat three very large and hearty meals, so that one would think that as other persons' grief takes away their appetites, her appetite took away her grief. Nor was it less remarkable where there was so great an appearance of love, the peculiar pleasure she took before his funeral in settling the order of it, and naming the persons that were to attend, and placing them according to their rank and to the rules of precedence, which was the entertainment she gave herself every day till that solemnity was over.

I know that in some libels she had been reproached as one who indulged herself in drinking strong liquors, but I believe this was utterly groundless, and that she never went beyond such a quantity of strong wines as her physicians judged to be necessary for her.

Her religion was chiefly implicit faith and subjection, accompanied with the form and course of a sort of piety. She had a zeal for the church as for an infallible guide, and a devotion for churchmen to such a degree, as if she thought this sufficient to sanctify every other part of her conduct ; and the churchmen repaid her civility in compliments and adorations ; for I have often blushed both for her and for her preachers, when I have heard it almost constantly, with the most fulsome flattery, affirmed

to her face, and to her satisfaction, that all we enjoyed was granted by Almighty God as the reward of her piety and religion. And, indeed, if religion consist in such zeal and such devotion, or in punctual and formal preparations for the Communion, or thelike, (as she had learnt, without doubt, from such tutors as she had been blessed with,) then it cannot be denied that she had as much religion as well could be lodged in one breast.

But if religion be justice, truth, sincerity, honour, gratitude, or the like, then one cannot tell what to say ; but let her practice speak for herself, her broken vows, her violated alliances, her behaviour to her old friends at home, her conduct to her good allies abroad, and the returns she made to her native country for an immense treasure of money and blood, spent for the vindication of her title, and the security of her life. She would speak in public of her zeal for her Protestant succession, and once she surprised the nation with the news of a particular friendship between herself and the House of Hanover ; but God knows what she meant, unless it was to delude the ignorant and unsuspicious part of her people ; for as for heart, there was proof enough in due time, that that was engaged at another Court : there was little of it left for that House ; and it came to be accounted an affront to herself, to name it in addresses to the throne. In most cases she was insensible of what related to the public, and could, with great coldness and tranquillity, let an express

that was known to come with any important good news lie unopened for half an hour, though she was alone, and had nothing in the world to do, whilst all about her were waiting with the utmost impatience to know the contents of it.

) She loved fawning and adoration, and hated plain dealing, even in the most important cases. She had a soul that nothing could so effectually move as flattery or fear. A sudden surprise, in an unguarded moment, would make the truth sometimes discover itself in her look, or in some unlucky word ; but if she had time and warning enough to learn her lesson, all the arguments and reason in the world could extort nothing from her that she had not a mind to acknowledge. In such cases, she seemed to have the insensibility of a rock, and would resolutely dissemble or disown anything in the world, and, by repeating one single answer in the same words, could tire out the patience, and elude all such enquiries as were disagreeable to herself.

She had no native generosity of temper, nor was often known of herself to do a handsome action, either as a reward, or as a piece of friendship. The diligence and faithfulness of a servant signified but little with her, where she had no passion for the person. Nor did she hardly ever think either of rewarding any because they were deserving, or of raising any, because they were miserable, till such things were urged upon her by those whom she loved. And even to such as she professed to love,

her presents were very few, and generally very insignificant, as fruit, or venison, or the like, unless in cases where she was directed by precedents in the former reigns.

In a word, she had little zeal for the happiness of others, but a selfishness that was great enough to make every other consideration yield to it. She was headstrong and positive in matters of the utmost importance, and at last preferred her own humour and passion before the safety and happiness of her own people and of all Europe, which she had either not sense enough to see, or not goodness enough to regard. Whether her memory will be celebrated by posterity with blessings or curses, time will show.*

Lord Godolphin had conducted the Queen, with the care and tenderness of a father, or a guardian, through a state of helpless ignorance, and had faithfully served her in all her difficulties before she was Queen, as well as greatly contributed to the glories she had to boast of after she was so. But there was no sense left now of such matters, nor any memory of those past services which she had used to think invaluable, a long series of services perhaps the most disinterested that were ever performed by any prime minister to any prince upon earth.

He was a man of few words, but of a remarkable

* "By the date of 1712. The latter part was probably written by St. Priest, and was partly what she shewed to Mr. Walpole."—*Coxe*.

thoughtfulness and sedateness of temper ; of great application to business, and of such despatch in it, as to give pleasure to those who attended him upon any affair ; of wonderful frugality in the public concerns, but of no great carefulness about his own. He affected being useful without popularity ; and the inconsiderable sum of money, above his paternal estate, which he left at his death, shewed that he had been indeed the nation's treasurer, and not his own, and effectually confuted the vile calumnies of his enemies and successors.

[Lord Chancellor Cowper's resignation was received by the Queen with a great seeming reluctance ; but he was too wise not to be sensible that all this concern was only upon politic reasons, for the present, and would vanish as soon as his successor should be ready for the post, and the terms fixed upon which he was to come into it.

The Duke of Marlborough's friend, Mr. de Cardonnell, was removed from being Secretary at War, and Mr. Granville put in his place, one perfectly unskilled in the business, and a known Jacobite ; but a flatterer of the new great man at Court, as well as an enemy to the Duke, which, to be sure, was thought on, both to disturb the Duke's mind, and the progress of affairs in which he was at this time engaged abroad.

These two were the chief agents in all that followed. But under them were several to whose different passions, tempers, and capacities, Mr. Harley (who knew as much as any one living of the secret of managing the corruptions of human nature) had very soon applied with good success all proper weights and motives.

\ The Duchess of Somerset was near the Queen's person ; she had her ear whenever she pleased, she was soft and complaisant, full of fine words and low courtesies ; and could by art and insinuation (seemingly unaffected, and free from malice or passion) make all such disadvantageous impressions sink the deeper into her mistress's heart.

What she had fixed her eyes and her wishes upon was the office of Groom of the Stole, as yet possessed by the Duchess of Marlborough ; but she covered the impertinence of her expectation and ambition within, with the outward guise of lowliness and good humour. And being assured that when the change was made, she should be Groom of the Stole, this made her Grace very industrious in doing all manner of mischief, but at the same time she acted her part so well that she would solemnly lament the misunderstandings between the Queen and the Duchess of Marlborough, whom she did her utmost to undermine, though in the beginning of the Queen's reign, she had made her a lady of the bedchamber after she had refused it, and after the number was filled up. And when a certain great man had

resolved to have the Duke of Somerset removed from being master of the horse, as he affirmed, for telling the secrets of the cabinet council, the Duchess of Marlborough gave the Duchess of Somerset timely notice of it, and prevented the blow. The Duke of Somerset was out of humour, I don't remember for what, and left the Court. But the Duchess stayed behind him, and enjoyed not only the post for which she had ignominiously sacrificed her truth and honour ; but also with it, a degree of royal favour, which these new ministers personally began to envy, and to be jealous of. This was plain from the lampoons their agents published against her at first, though they thought afterwards to let her remain in quiet, finding that her fawning, submissive, flattering way of conversation had gained too great an ascendant over the Queen for them to venture the experiment of making her so soon uneasy again.

I cannot forget here, that this great lady managed her ambition so cunningly, that she contrived not to be at Court when the Duchess of Marlborough was to be dismissed, that it might seem to those, who could see no further than the outside of things, as if she had neither any hand nor any view in that matter ; and as if she had no aim at the office of groom of the stole, but was sought after for it, without any inclination of her own. She had her end at length ; but it was dearly purchased at the price of so much artifice and meanness of soul. And it

seems, it was a post that could move the ambition of more than one. For, besides, that it might be concluded from the abuse the Duchess of Somerset presently met with, that Mrs. Masham herself had an eye upon it, and was making her way to it by due degrees; it is certain that there were three other ladies, viz., the Duchess of Ormond, the Lady Rochester, (then Lady Hyde,) and Lady Fretcheville, who were all vain enough to set their thoughts upon it, and were ungrateful enough to do all ill offices to one, to whom they had frequently acknowledged under their own hands very great obligations, in order to obtain it.

(The Duchess of Ormond* had none of the qualifications either of a good woman or an agreeable friend. But the Duchess of Marlborough was touched with her misfortunes, and brought her into the Queen's bedchamber with very great difficulty; because the ladies of the bedchamber were already fixed upon. And this she did, because the Duchess requested it of her; and represented to her how hard her case was then, that this honour would give her a great advantage among her lord's family, who used her very ill, and would be an inducement to her lord himself to treat her more kindly than he did. The Duchess of Marlborough thought it a very pitiable case, and persuaded the Queen to put her in the room of another lady. Yet all this

* Lady Mary Somerset, daughter of the Duke of Beaufort, and second wife of the Duke of Ormond.

was forgot. That Duchess employed her small talents in the common work of calumny, when the season came, and descended to so low a degree of courtship to the new favourite, as to think herself happy if she could but have the honour (which she frequently had) to carry with her in her coach Mrs. Masham's child and nurse airing to Datchet Ferry. Whilst the mother was so morose and peevish, that she would not vouchsafe herself to keep her Grace company. So mean and servile a thing is pride itself, and so low could this great lady stoop for her own poor ends; who was even remarkable for a height of temper, and particularly for the ridiculous vanity of boasting that she came from the blood of the Plantagenets, though, if it were so, all agreed it must have been from some bastard of that blood.

| As for Lady Rochester,* she had heretofore almost broke her heart with the strong desire she had of being lady of the bedchamber, and the Duchess of Marlborough had pitied her uneasiness so far, as to obtain this favour for her. In return for which, after the highest professions of esteem and friendship, she likewise lent a helping hand to the good work of defaming and removing her benefactress. But she was of too little credit, and of too little consequence, to obtain what she aimed at by so vile a proceeding. The last of the

* Jane, sister of John, Lord Gower, married to Henry Hyde, second Earl of Rochester.

three, Lady Fretcheville, was likewise brought to Court at first by the Duchess of Marlborough. And not only this, but after the Princess was Queen, the Duchess, by her solicitation, obtained for her a more considerable thing than ever she obtained for any other person, and at a time when the Queen very much despised her. The return she made, was not only to pay all degrees of courtship to the Duchess's greatest enemy, Mrs. Masham, but to spread with a malicious zeal all manner of the greatest falsehoods about her. In which laudable work this good lady had always shown a very peculiar talent, and acquired an established reputation. But none of these three could, either by their fawnings, or their flatteries, or their calumnies, obtain the great end they now aimed at.

Another great man, who was immediately engaged in this new scheme, was the Duke of Shrewsbury, a man of a very different character from the rest in this scheme, with respect to his abilities, and a sort of an appearance of wisdom. He had been abroad at Rome for many years, and brought over with him, at his return, a very old woman, his wife, (an Italian Papist, who had upon this marriage professed herself a Protestant. Her ambition, to be sure, rose upon such a marriage, and his covetousness, which was the prevailing bias in his constitution, and had increased upon him with years, made

him now capable of receiving offers to his advantage with readiness enough. He had great obligations to Lords Marlborough and Godolphin, and either had no uneasiness with them, or else had the art to hide it perfectly well. At the beginning of the Queen's reign those two lords kept vacant for some time the post of master of the horse, and made him the offer of it more than once, inviting him home, that he should bear a part in the administration. But whether he did not think it advisable to embark with them till he saw what turn the affairs of a new Court would take, or whatever else was the reason, he then excused himself either from want of health, or some other frivolous pretence, and so that post was disposed of to the Duke of Somerset. Indeed, the Duchess of Marlborough had another reason given her at that time by Mr. Berkeley, who assured her he had often heard it from the Duke's own mother, that her son had reconciled himself to the Church of Rome. But this made little impression upon one, who could not at that time think so ill of him. His letters to the Duke of Marlborough not only before, but since he came home, were full of the highest regard and esteem and the greatest friendship.

I knew the time since his return to England, when he esteemed his proxy in the Duke's hands much more sure to vote for the public good, than

if he were present himself to give his vote, and declared that if any thing could give him a tolerable opinion of his own judgment in public affairs, it would be the reflection that in the many parliaments he had had the honour to sit with his Grace, he could not recollect that they had ever differed. But now the opportunity was irresistible ; and nothing within of love was enough, against the pressure of so great a temptation, though he had received no sort of provocation either real or pretended from the ministry to give any alleviation to his guilt. For the Duke and Duchess of Marlborough and Lord Godolphin had lived particularly well with him, and his Roman Duchess, ever since his return. Nay, these two Lords had regarded him to so great a degree, that they were hardly easy without putting him into some considerable post. But those with whom they were now engaged, thought that his long stay at Rome, and his strange marriage there, gave them good reason to be jealous of him, till he had been tried for some time, whether he still adhered to the principles of the Revolution, in which he had borne a considerable part. Those Lords had endeavoured very heartily to overcome that difficulty, and the Duke seemed perfectly satisfied with their conduct towards him. There was but one thing which he could possibly resent. His Duchess, who had a foreign assurance to ask, as well as to say any thing, though never so improper,

took upon her to solicit that her Lord might have a pension. But, considering his estate, and that he had no family, this was thought highly unreasonable, and so was not granted.

Without doubt he had cunning enough, in a very little time, to discover that the Queen's inclinations began to be very much altered towards the Marlborough family ; as well as to see in what channel it was likely to run for the future ; and art enough to improve his observations to his own advantage. But it looked as if he was resolved to search that matter to the bottom, before he thoroughly embarked in the designs of their enemies. This seemed to be the only intent of a particular visit he made to the Duchess of Marlborough in the beginning of the winter of 1709, in which he put on the guise of the greatest value and friendship for her ; filling his conversation with the words respect and veneration, and the like, but particularly entering into much discourse about the misunderstanding between the Queen and her. He spoke with great concern about it ; and at length asked her, if it were possible for her to recover the favour she seemed to have lost, and to be reconciled to the Queen ? The Duchess, in her very open and too sincere manner, for such politicians, frankly told him, that she looked upon it as absolutely impossible, considering the interest Mrs. Masham had with the Queen, and the management of another behind the curtain.

She said she often remembered those verses of Dryden's,

“ Forgiveness to th' injur'd doth belong,
They never pardon, who have done the wrong.”

That for her part, she knew she had done no wrong, unless a faithful and hearty service, with the utmost plain dealing, were a wrong, and that Queens are never suffered to think they do wrong; and that, upon these accounts, she looked upon that matter to be past retrieve, and the wound given to their friendship too deep ever to be healed up. The Duke, with an air of friendship, pretended to wonder that the Queen could not be brought to a sense of her unkindness; and heartily condemned the usage the Duchess had met with: adding, that Mrs. Masham had undertaken a work, which he believed she could never go through with, and that the Queen would never be in so good hands as those of the Duchess, with a great appearance of approving all that she had been saying in her own vindication. But yet, after this, *He*, who used before to come twice a week, never came more to see her Grace. He did not, indeed, after this, enter into the railing part; but still kept up the decorum of speaking well and civilly of the Duke and Duchess of Marlborough and Lord Godolphin. Yet, his Duchess made court visibly to Mrs. Masham, and ran in with the popular cry of censuring and railing at the Duchess of Marlborough, as the most grateful topic at Court, in this critical

juncture. In the midst of which, she would sometimes, in proper places, run out into themes of high civility and compliment, which were known too well to be such as the Duke had taught her, in order to hide the part they both were acting. This woman was big with the expectation of being one of the ladies of the bedchamber, when the desired alteration could be brought about; and with that view humbled herself to the lowest degree of fawning and flattery; even in too gross and nauseous a manner to succeed. For there were those about the Queen, who could not bear it; and so, in that particular, disappointed her ambition, and her Lord's covetousness. The Duke, however, pursued his point; and from the time of that last conversation with the Duchess of Marlborough, it was very evident that his views and his expectations were turned from his old friends. He had, indeed, run through a course of the warmest professions of zeal and friendship for the ministers. But now, all his good sense was not enough to hinder him from joining himself in the basest manner to the counsels of their vilest enemies for their destruction.

This Duke was one of the principal persons who was immediately brought in to forward that change which was afterwards brought about. He had acquired a sort of reputation for wisdom, which added a weight and reputation to their proceedings. It is hardly worth while to mention two other lords

who, being discontented that favours and rewards were not heaped upon them by the ministry, became mere tools to promote the designs of their enemies. The one was Lord Rivers, a man scandalous and vile in his character to a very low degree, of no better reputation than a common cheat or pickpocket; having robbed his own father, and gone under the name of Tyburn Dick for many years. The other was Lord Peterborough, a man who, to the same vileness of soul, had joined a sort of *knight errantry*, that made up a very odd sort of composition. One, who had wasted his fortune and worn out his credit, and had nothing left but so much resolution and so little honour as made him capable of anything they had to put upon him.

Besides the assistance of these and others about the Court, one great piece of art was to spread the vilest calumnies and falsest stories of those who were to be attacked all over the nation. For which purpose some under-workmen of prostituted consciences and hardened faces were necessary. They were not long seeking for such, when once the power of rewarding was seen to be in their hands, or to be certainly coming to them. The Rev. Mr. Swift and Mr. Prior quickly offered themselves to sale, (besides a number of more ordinary scribblers,) both men of wit and parts ready to prostitute all they had in the service of well-rewarded scandal, being both of a composition past the weakness of

blushing, or of stumbling at anything for the interest of their new masters. The former of these had long ago turned all religion into a Tale of a Tub, and sold it for a jest. But he had taken it ill, that the ministry had not promoted him in the Church for the great zeal he had shown for religion by his profane drollery; and so carried his atheism and his humour into the service of their enemies. They were now raising a great outcry against the profaneness and deism, and the like. And one of the first of their tools to be encouraged and promoted was a lewd libertine, and an open ridiculer of all inspiration. The other, Mr. Prior, was quickly taken off from writing by other business they had for him in France. But it was thought, with good reason, that he wrote some of those vile *Examiners* in which the Duke and Duchess of Marlborough were so beyond all measure and all example abused. Nay, before this, the Duchess thought she had good reason to think him the author of a vile libel against herself. And notwithstanding all his submissions and all his protestations (of which he was very free) she continued still to think so.

In 1709, he wrote to the Duke, assuring him, "that he placed the welfare of his life in the assurance he had that he continued still in his Grace's favour; begging either to be restored to the place he once had, or to be sent to Florence, or to be disposed of as his Grace should see fit; intreat-

ing that he might have leave to throw himself at the Duchess's feet, with the most solemn protestation (as his own words are !) averring that he had ever esteemed her as one of the best of women, and would justify that esteem with his life." X

In the same letter, speaking of the loss of his office, he had these words, "Fare it well, I still subsist, God Almighty bless your goodness and bounty for it," and to the same purpose in other letters. The Duke, indeed, had so particularly regarded him, as to procure him a pension of 500*l.* a-year, after he was removed from being one of the commissioners for trade ; and he had made more submissive court to the Duke and Duchess than almost any other. But, when their enemies opened the scene, he immediately joined them, and made the vilest returns to him, to whom he had long owed his very subsistence. But it is enough to say, that the first part of his education was in a tavern, and that he had a soul as low as his education, incapable of anything truly great or honourable.

These, and such like under them, were by lampoons and libels to disperse all possible scandal throughout the nation about a ministry which had raised the Queen's glory to an height unknown to any of her predecessors. They were to add to this an hideous outcry about the danger of the Church, the increase of profaneness, the encouragement of infidelity, the growth of republican and antimonarchical principles, and God knows what. Any-

thing, in short, that might raise a ferment where it was not, or increase it where it was. And all this, to add a reputation and popularity to what the grand master* of the whole machine was now bringing to a head at Court, where he found himself by this time possessed both of the Queen's ear and heart, as much as he could wish.

He had now waited as long as his own private affairs could possibly permit. All things were safe. The Queen thoroughly alienated from her old servants, and ready to receive any impression against them. Mrs. Masham, the great and supreme favourite, and Mr. Harley himself admitted into consultation. All manner of open railing against the ministry encouraged; the continuance of a heavy and expensive war abroad, and everything bad at home, laid to their charge. A notion universally prevailed of the Queen's own uneasiness at their proceedings; and a dissatisfaction scattered throughout the nation by these means. The stroke, to be sure, could not have been long deferred; and without doubt, resolutions had been taken in the private consultations at Court, to put an end to the poor Queen's uneasy condition, as well as the Church's imaginary danger. But there was an accident, very lucky for them, which determined them to the precise time of doing this, and gave them still greater advantages than they could have hoped for.

* Mr. Harley.

The ministry finding themselves perpetually abused from the pulpits as well as the press, resolved to attempt to put some stop to such insolence by the impeachment and trial of Dr. Henry Sacheverel, for vilely abusing the late Revolution and the glorious instrument of it ; for insulting the administration, endeavouring to destroy the toleration, and proclaiming the danger of the Church, to alarm the people against their governors. All this was owned to be the design of the sermon for which he was impeached, both by his friends and by his enemies, and boasted of by the former and by himself before the trial ; as he himself was rewarded for the attack in due time after it. The delay of the trial, and the unreasonable and pompous preparation for it, gave time enough to the new projectors to send about all their tools to raise hideous outcries, as if both church and state were now attacked, and to scatter the notion, which did most mischief, of the Queen's own uneasiness and the like.

The poison spread itself incredibly. It was no very difficult matter for such cunning masters of mischief, with the help of all discontented Tories, Jacobites, Papists, and indigent under-workmen, to put the nation into a very terrible ferment.

Of the man himself no more need be said, than that he had not one good quality that any man of sense ever valued him for. He once professed him-

self a great Whig. But King William dying, he thought best to change with the torrent. It must be owned that a person more fitted for a tool, could not have been picked out of the whole nation. For he had not learning enough to write or speak true English, (as all his own compositions witness,) but a heap of bombast, ill-connected words at command, which do excellently well with such as he was to move. He had so little sense, as even to design and effect that popularity, which now became his portion, and which a wise and good man knows not how to bear with. He had a haughty insolent air, which his friends found occasion often to complain of; but it made his presence more graceful in public.

His person was framed well for his purposes, and he dressed well. A good assurance, clean gloves, white handkerchief well managed, with other suitable accomplishments, moved the hearts of many at his appearance, and the solemnity of a trial added much to a pity and concern which had nothing in reason or justice to support them. The weaker part of the ladies were more like mad or bewitched, than like persons in their senses.

At length, by the help of proper officers and tools, great mobs and tumults were raised, to whose outrages and violence nothing more conduced than a prevailing opinion, artfully spread amongst them, that one above was herself on the side of these dis-

orders. Here there was a machine for the great projector to move ; and it was so dexterously moved that the whole nation was moved with it.

Several eminent clergymen, who despised the man in their hearts, were engaged to stand publicly by him in the face of the world, as if the poor Church of England was now tried in him. A speech exquisitely contrived to move pity, was put into his mouth, full of an impious piety, denying the greatest part of the charge (which the man had been known to boast of before) with solemn appeals to God, and such applications of Scripture as would make any serious person tremble. Every one immediately guessed the real author of it from the manner of using Scripture so profanely, and from the frequent calling of God to witness to what was known to be false. And perhaps there was but one man in England capable of making such a speech. And but one proud man of lowness of soul enough to descend to speak it. This speech was ready printed, contrary to all rule and decency, dispersed over the nation by himself, and had a great part in heightening our disorders. The sentence passed upon him could have been no punishment to any man, but one who was full of his own excellences, and never thought himself so great as in a pulpit.

Everybody knows that he was afterwards sent about several counties ; where, with his usual grace, he received as his due, the homage and adoration of multitudes ; never thinking that respect enough

was paid to his great merit, using some of his friends insolently, and raising mobs against his enemies, and giving ample proof of how great meanness the bulk of mankind is capable ; putting on the air of a saint upon a lewd, drunken, pampered man, dispersing his blessings to all his worshippers, and his kisses to some ; taking their good money as fast as it could be brought in, drinking their best wines, eating of their best provisions without reserve, and without temperance. And, what completed the farce, complaining in the midst of this scene of luxury and triumph, as the old fat monk did, over a hot venison pasty, in his barbarous Latin, “*Heu quanta patimus pro Ecclesia.*” Oh, what dreadful things do we undergo for the sake of the Church !

This engine proving so fortunate, and the nation being now raised to a violent heat of mad passion for the church and crown, there was no longer any doubt of giving the finishing stroke to the designs which had been long in agitation.

In this account, which is all the historian’s, he has not shown any tenderness for Queen Anne, and it will be very difficult to reconcile the character he has given her with *that* I have given her on the statue at Blenheim, and therefore I will say what I can in justification of both, in case this history, or any part of it, should be printed after I am dead.

An historian, if he writes at all, ought to write the facts, or he should not pretend to give an account of them to posterity. All he relates is exactly the truth, and the inscription I have put on the pedestal was likewise true. But as I had great obligations to the Queen, I thought it unbecoming in me to relate anything to her disadvantage, whatever the annals of those times would make appear, that I could not help. For everybody must know what she said from the throne, the insincere assurances she gave her allies, and the treatment in discharging those faithful servants of whom she had more than twenty years' experience ; and at last, how, by the advice of my Lord Oxford, she was brought to throw away all the successes she had gained in the wars at a time when she was so very near ruining the power of France, as never to leave it able to impose anything to the disadvantage of England. But notwithstanding all these wonderful things, brought about by a low chambermaid, by the direction of cunning men that wanted to come into great places and power themselves, they certainly laid the foundation of all the mischiefs Sir Robert Walpole has so nearly completed in 1740, who, I really believe, did not at first design to put England into any danger from France. But to support his own power and wealth, he has, from one step to another, so far ruined this country, that it is not likely that it should escape from slavery, from one side or the other.

Now I must explain what I mean, to reconcile, as far as I can, the different characters of Queen Anne. She certainly, as is said on the inscription, meant well, and was not a fool; but nobody can maintain that she was wise, nor entertaining in conversation. She was in everything what I described her; ignorant in everything but what the parsons had taught her when a child; and she never failed in performing exactly the rules given her by them with great sincerity, for she was not in anything of that sort a hypocrite. But their directions were not the most material part of religion. She was naturally fond of the church and the clergy, and at the beginning of her kindness to me, she would have started at anybody's persuading her to profess a falsehood, or to have done anything plainly wrong. But when she came to be flattered by her new counsellors, who never told her but one thing at a time she was to do; and no doubt, if she had any scruple in complying with them, they frightened her by making her think it was absolutely necessary to be done, to preserve her crown, and even her life; for otherwise she would have the same usage from the Whigs that her grandfather King Charles the First had from such sort of people; and her own natural inclination being to be fond of the Tories,—being very ignorant, very fearful, with very little judgment, it is easy to be seen she might mean well, being surrounded with so many artful people, who at last compassed their designs to her dishonour. For though she never said, that I

know of, a simple thing of herself, if she happened to like anybody, she had such a diffidence of herself, that she would always yield to the persuasion of those she liked, even though they had still less judgment than herself. She certainly was as decent in her behaviour as I have formerly represented her, till the latter end of her reign, when a very brutal woman got into her favour. She was not extravagant in any of her expenses, which is a very good thing for subjects, because whatever princes do, which is called generosity, the subjects feel it, because it is generally very foolishly applied.

Now I will give an account of the character of those Whigs I was acquainted with, whom the historian makes no mention of, nor of King William and Queen Mary, only where he could not avoid it; and he was very partial to the Whigs, being one himself.

I have given a true account of King William and Queen Mary in my letter to Mrs. Burnet, which makes it unnecessary to repeat it again. But I will say something of the behaviour of the Whigs, which, from my own knowledge, is the truth.

My Lord Somers could not have supported himself so long as the head of the Whigs, if he had not had good talents. But there was one thing that appeared to be a great blemish to a Lord Chancellor, that he lived as publicly with another man's wife as

if she had been his own. The first thing that raised his reputation to so great a height was being counsel to the seven bishops King James committed to the Tower. King William made him Lord Chancellor ; and I have heard, but do not know the truth of that myself, that he got as much money as he could in that post, and some grants not becoming a Chancellor to have.

When Queen Anne came to the crown, he was at the head of the Whigs, and all the favour was shewn to the Tories, whose principles I did not like ; and I really had no partiality to Whig or Tory, but thought the principles the Whigs professed, the best for England. And I solemnly protest, that when I thought nothing could possibly happen to lessen the Queen's favour to me, I would have lived upon my father's estate at Sandridge rather than have given my vote to have made her arbitrary. The Whigs were very uneasy at having no power when the Queen came to the crown, and at last the Tories, from their violence and folly, made it impossible for my Lords Marlborough and Godolphin to support the crown upon the Queen's head, and the laws of the country, without encouraging the Whigs to get their assistance against the Tories. My Lord Somers was the chief of the Whigs, but there was no possibility of introducing him till towards the latter end of Lords Marlborough and Godolphin's interest with the Queen ; and they were contented with changes, in bringing in some Whigs not so ob-

noxious to the Queen as Lord Somers, of whom I shall say more presently.

For my Lord Cowper, I continually laboured with the Queen to make him Keeper, to save the Duke of Marlborough and Lord Godolphin from an application so disagreeable to her ; and at last, by a great deal of drudgery, I succeeded. Upon which my Lord Halifax came to me from my Lord Cowper, to desire I would appoint a time for him to make his acknowledgments to me. I answered, “ Upon condition that he would not say anything upon that subject, for I would not be thanked for anything I had done in contributing to bring so valuable a man into that post, which must prove a great advantage to the nation, by displacing Wright, who was so unfit for the post.” Upon these articles Lord Cowper came to me, and told me, “ He must perform what I had enjoined, and though I would not allow him to speak, I could not hinder him from thinking.” And I must do him the justice to say, that all the time I was at Court, and after I was removed, no man could possibly behave better to me than he did, not only as a gentleman, but as a friend, and as if he had been my own brother. My Lord Somers had the reverse of that behaviour, for though he courted me a great while in order to get Whigs into employment, visiting me, and if I met him in the streets, or on the road by chance, he would stand up as if I had been the Queen, yet after I had teased the Queen to bring him into a great post, I


think it was Lord President, he never made me but one single visit, though I never had one dispute or quarrel with him, nor took any more notice of me after I was out of my employments than if he had never heard of me ; nor of the Duke of Marlborough, after he was put out of the army, of which the historian has given a very exact account. But he soon found, after he had been at Court, that Mrs. Masham would get the better, and therefore wisely thought it better to make his application to her and her friends. And as long as Lords Marlborough and Godolphin continued ministers, contrary to Sir Robert's method, for they never did anything considerable without consulting the chief of their friends, whatever was to be moved contrary to the Queen's temper, he always put that task on Lords Marlborough and Godolphin to propose it, which it is probable he might cover with his pretended modesty, that they were most proper of whose services she had so long an experience. But at last I discovered, by a man of undoubted truth and honour, that Lords Bolingbroke and Oxford, before the Queen had publicly made them her ministers, had diverted themselves much with a scheme to make the Queen flatter Lord Somers and seem fond of him, in order to make Lords Marlborough and Godolphin jealous.

That plot had not its effect so soon as it ought to have had, but Lord Somers was extremely pleased with the Queen's favour, and attended her very often

alone. Her Majesty acted her part very well, as she could anything given her by those she liked, and I really believe, from all his proceedings, that he thought if he could get rid of the Duke of Marlborough and Lord Godolphin, by the Queen's favour he should compass being Premier minister. I remember to have been at several of their consultations, to fill out their tea and wash their cups ; and he was the chief man in promoting the union with Scotland. One argument was, that it would shut up the door to let the Pretender in, and no man in all the debates was so pressing as himself to have Dr. Sacheverel tried ; and one of his arguments for that was, that if they did not do it, the Queen would be preached out of the throne, and the nation ruined. Notwithstanding this, when the Queen, by her new counsellors, had a mind to save Dr. Sacheverel, she prevailed with Lord Somers not to go to the finishing his trial ; and the reason he gave for not doing it was, " because his mother," he said, " was dead." And he was so exact that, though he could not bring her to life again, out of great decency he could not appear in public. I do not imagine that reason passed on anybody, but he was disappointed ; for when the play was finished, and Lord Rochester, Sir Edward Seymour, and such as they were put into the Council, to be sure they would not suffer Lord Somers to sit with them ; and if they would, it was impossible for him to stay when all his friends were put out, or had quitted. But I know, after the game

was up, a bedchamber woman that was very honest assured me that he came often privately to wait on the Queen at Kensington, after his party was destroyed, which convinced me that he had hopes, by some accident or other, to obtain the Queen's favour; and perhaps he might have some pension from her; but that I cannot be sure of, because if he had it, it is most probable it was paid by Mrs. Masham.

I will now give an account of what I knew of my Lord Halifax, who a long time was a great Whig. He was of a family, but as a younger brother, he had but 50*l.* a year, with which he could make no great figure. The first thing he was cried up for was something from whence he was called *Mouse Montagu*. I do not know any other way to describe it. But it was extremely liked, and I think it was written in King James's reign, or the latter end of King Charles's. I do not know by whose means, but he got into the Treasury, and Lord Godolphin raised his fortune. He read extremely agreeably, and having a good deal of that business to do, my Lord Godolphin was pleased with him. I believe he had some talents, particularly a great knack at making pretty ballads. But my Lords Marlborough and Godolphin used to say the same thing of him as they did of Mr. Walpole—"That they were both useful, but neither of them had any judgment." Lord Halifax had a vast deal of vanity and as much covetousness. For I have seen several letters of his, in which he was always soliciting to



get more money than he ought to have had. He loved dedications, and every thing of that sort. I remember one thing more, extremely wretched, or rather mean.

He sent me once a book written by one of his people, upon the subject that he knew I liked, and he told me the author was very honest but poor, upon which I gave him 100*l*. And I am very sure if he gave this writer anything, it was from himself, without letting him know it was from me. He was a very active Whig, till the times changed ; but when Lord Oxford got the better, though he continued to meet his friends, at all their consultations, he betrayed them. I remember Lord Cowper was very angry with him. They had taken a resolution to do something in Parliament that would have disconcerted Lord Oxford's designs very much. I do not remember it so particularly as to relate it, but it was of so much consequence to keep it secret, that all those great men made a solemn protestation not to mention this resolution to anybody. Notwithstanding which, my Lord Halifax told it to my Lord Oxford, which disappointed the designs his friends had taken. They were all shocked at it ; but when they reproached Lord Halifax with having done it, he said with a great deal of insolence, That he had done it for the best, and would have turned it off with a jest, that if they did not like it, they might fight their next battles themselves. There never was a falser man than Lord Halifax was.

I will now relate one remarkable instance of it.

Before my Lord Shrewsbury went to Rome, he had a great friendship with him ; but when he returned to England, he apprehended that he would come into some great employment from the great inclination and esteem the Duke of Marlborough and Lord Godolphin had for him, and therefore told them that the Duke of Shrewsbury was a very agreeable man ; but as they knew he had quitted King William's service out of fear that the government would not hold, and was certainly reconciled to the Pretender by his Roman Catholic relations, the Whigs could not bear that he should fill any great post, when they had borne all the heat and burthen in support of the Revolution. There was some reason and truth in this: but to shew what a thorough wretch he was, at the end of the Whig ministry, when the Duke of Shrewsbury came thoroughly into the Tories, and voted with them in every thing, my Lord Halifax renewed his friendship with the Duke of Shrewsbury, and served them in every thing he could, contrary to his professions, even at that time, to his party.

It was plain to everybody that he was made use of to do mischief in the city for the advantage and to forward the designs of the Tories. And it is certain, that in a cunning way, he did a great deal of mischief to his own party, when he saw it going, and as he had been a Lord of the Treasury, he had great interest in the city, and used to make great entertainments, but always for some good purpose,

and they were extremely well performed. This got him a great many friends, even among the ladies. But this was purely out of interest and vanity, for he was so great a manager, that when he dined alone, I know he eat upon pewter, for fear of lessening the value of his plate by cleaning it often. He was a frightful figure, and yet pretended to be a lover, and followed several beauties, who laughed at him for it.

Notwithstanding this character of him, which is all true, he was thought so necessary by the Whig party, that when King George the First came into England, and things were settled, they made him an Earl, gave him the blue ribbon, made him first commissioner of the Treasury, and allowed his nephew, Mr. Montague, to be auditor of the Exchequer, who was his heir, and that place is chiefly designed to be a check upon the Treasury. This was a good precedent for Sir Robert Walpole, who gave his son the same post. But, to give a farther instance of his love for money, my Lady Scarborough, who was a very worthy woman, told me in confidence, that though Mr. Montague, her son-in-law, had but a small estate, he allowed him to take out of that vast employment but 500*l.* a year ; and had the rest himself. To finish this character, I must repeat what is more extraordinary than any I have yet said. My Lord Halifax, and the rest of the great men, dined with me at Marlborough House, the same day they had done these great

things for him. He hardly spoke a word the whole dinner-time, looked full of rage, and as if he could have killed everybody at the table ; and the reason of that behaviour was, that they did not give him the white staff, instead of making him the first commissioner of the Treasury. I shall only add to this description of him, that he was as renowned for ill-breeding as Sir Robert Walpole is. Of all my Whig friends and professors, when I had interest with the Queen, except Lord Cowper, whom I have given a just character of, I cannot recollect any one who did not treat me in an infamous manner, and, except Sir Gilbert Heathcote, Sir Nathaniel Gould, and my Lord Orford, they railed at me everywhere, and said, that I had ruined them, and were as violent as the Tories had been, who had some reason, for I was against them. But I never deceived them, though I could not be of their opinion. The first I have mentioned, Sir Gilbert, was always the same to me as when I was a favourite, wrote to me when I was in exile ; and Sir Nathaniel Gould and he continued my friends till their death. And after the Duke of Marlborough was dead, which was very polite in men of business, they hired a coach, and came to visit me at Windsor Lodge, when I was in affliction. This was after the Hanover family were in England, when both Whigs and Tories railed at me. My Lord Orford was certainly a man of honour and truth, for though I had known him a great many years, we being both servants to

the Duke and Duchess of York, I had no intimacy with him afterwards. But, as he was a considerable man with the great men at that time, several of them brought him to me at Marlborough House, to persuade me to be friends with one that had behaved very ill in former times ; but, as they were politicians, they had a great mind to please this person in doing what he desired so much. But I could not be convinced by any of their arguments, that it was of any use for me at that time to comply with them. I said, it was of no consequence then, that I believed they judged right for themselves ; but as I had been very ill-used, I did not care to be friends, nor to have anything to do with such people. I observed that my Lord Orford hearkened to the arguments on both sides, but never said one word to persuade me, as the rest of the company had done. And it was plain to me, that he looked as if he thought that I was in the right ; and as though he would have done as I did, had it been his own case. He had so much honour, that he would not join with the company, though he came on purpose to do it. For I did not pretend to argue against their doing whatever they thought proper ; but, as I was an insignificant woman, I thought I might be allowed to follow my own inclination, which was always to be sincere. In another book are a great many particulars, which the historian may like to look into : but I have omitted there to relate something of Sir Robert Walpole,

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which shews that he betrayed the Duke of Marlborough, even at that time when he made the greatest professions to him.

The Duke of Marlborough was made so uneasy at the latter end of the Queen's reign, by turning men of service out of the army to put in Mr. Hill and Mr. Masham over the heads of people improperly, that Mr. Walpole was employed to shew the Queen how detrimental to her service such steps must be. He had many opportunities of doing it. The Duke of Marlborough having obtained of the Queen, that Cardonnel should be Secretary of War, as a reward for his services, when the war was ended, which he hoped would be soon, and the Queen having allowed Mr. Cardonnel to kiss her hand upon that promise, but to let him go over with the Duke of Marlborough that campaign and another, if the war happened to be not concluded, Mr. Walpole was so low then, that he executed this place for Mr. Cardonnel, and attended the Duke of Marlborough when he was in England, with a bag of writings, like Mr. Cardonnel. He managed it so as to make the Duke of Marlborough believe that he had done all he could with the Queen, and at the same time gained the points Mrs. Masham had desired for her husband and brother ; and I had incontestible proofs afterwards that Mr. Walpole had acted this double part to oblige Mrs. Masham : and the Duke of Marlborough, at that time, had no reason to believe he could be so false. Sir Robert had also a

great obligation to me ; for, by my interest wholly, he was made Treasurer of the Navy when Sir T. Lyttelton died, though there were solicitations from many people for that employment, whom they thought it of more consequence to oblige. But I prevailed, and he had then only had a small estate, and that much encumbered. And I have letters of acknowledgments to me, in which he says, “ he is very sensible that he was entirely obliged to me for it.” Notwithstanding which, at the beginning of his great power with the present family, he used me with all the folly and insolence upon every occasion, as he has treated several, since he has acted as if he were King, which would be too tedious to relate.

I am not sure that some account of this has not been given before. But, if it has, the truth is always the same. And it is no great matter, since what I write is only information to the historian to give character. For being perpetually interrupted, it is impossible to remember what I may have formerly written upon these subjects.

OPINIONS
OF THE
DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH.

THE PRINCESS AMELIA.

1737. Some people have a notion that the Princess Amelia will be employed by the minister to do every thing with the King ; but I think she has not experience enough. And though, with great reason, his Majesty was influenced by the Queen, yet his Majesty, who has so great a capacity himself, can never be influenced much by a daughter of five-and-twenty.

1737. Princess Amelia is to perform the Queen's part in the drawing-room ; but, by all I have either seen or heard of her, I do not believe her behaviour will create many friends to the family.

QUEEN ANNE.

Queen Anne had a person and appearance very graceful, something of majesty in her look. She was religious without affectation ; and certainly meant to do everything that was just. She had no ambition ; which appeared by her being so easy in letting King William come before her to the crown, after

the King her father had followed such counsels as made the nation see they could not be safe in their religion and laws, without coming to the extremities they did. And she thought it more for her honour to be easy in it, than to make a dispute, *who* should have the crown first, that was taken from her father. And it was a great trouble to her to be forced to act such a part against him, even for security, which was truly the case ; and she thought those that shewed the least ambition had the best character. Her journey to Nottingham was purely accidental, never concerted, but occasioned by the great fright she was in when the King returned from Salisbury, upon which she said, she should jump out at the window rather than stay and see her father ; and, upon that sent to the Bishop of London, to consult with others what she should do ; who came with the Earl of Dorset, and carried her into the city, and from thence to Nottingham. She was never expensive, but saved money out of her 50,000*l.* a year, which, after she came to the crown, was paid to Prince George of Denmark, which was his by right. She made no foolish buildings, nor bought one jewel in the whole time of her reign.

She always paid the greatest respect imaginable to King William and Queen Mary, and never insisted upon any one thing of grandeur more than she had when her family was established by King Charles II. ; though after the Revolution she was

[heir-presumptive to the crown, and, after her sister died, was] in the place of a Prince of Wales. The civil list revenue was not increased on her having the crown ; and the late Earl of Godolphin, who was treasurer, often said, that from accidents in the customs, and not straining things to hardships, the revenue did not come to, one year with another, more than 500,000*l.* ; however, as it was found necessary to have a war, to secure England from the power of France, she contributed, for the ease of the people, 100,000*l.* out of her own revenue, to lessen the expense, in one year : and out of her civil list she paid a great many pensions given in former reigns, which have been since thrown upon the public ; and she gave the first fruits to be distributed among the poor clergy. She was extremely well-bred, and treated her chief ladies and servants as if they had been her equals ; and she never refused to give charity, when there was the least reason for any body to ask it ; and likewise paid the salaries of most of her sister's servants, notwithstanding the hardships she had suffered in King William's reign. And to shew how good a manager she was for the public, till a very few years before she died, she never had but 20,000*l.* a year for her privy purse, which was vastly less than any King or Queen ever had : but at the latter end of her reign it was increased to 26,000*l.* which was much to her honour, because *that* is subject to no account : and, in comparison with other reigns, she was as saving

in another office, that of the robes ; for it will appear by all the records, in the Exchequer, where the accounts were passed, that in nine years she spent only 32,050*l.* including the coronation expense.

I have put these facts together, for materials for the person who writes the inscription.* They are all true, notwithstanding what she was imposed upon in doing at the end of her reign. I never flattered anybody living ; and I cannot be suspected of it now the Queen is dead. But this character of the Queen is so much the reverse of Queen Caroline, that I think it will not be liked at Court. And though I make no observations upon it, nobody can read it without reflecting upon the difference of the proceedings in Queen Anne's reign and the present.

DUKE OF ARGYLE.

1738. It is said the Duke of Argyle is extremely angry. It is a common saying, that when a house is to fall the rats go away ; but I doubt there is nothing of that in this case, and I rather think the anger must be to have some new demand satisfied, which is a thing his Grace has often done. Sir Robert is very free in his speeches, and before a great deal of company lately that dined with him, somebody took up the subject of the Duke of Ar-

* On the statue of Queen Anne, in the gallery of Blenheim. Her Grace has furnished us with a key to that inscription.—*Lord Hailes.*

gyle's being angry. Sir Robert had a mind to let it drop, but they would go on with it; and Sir Robert said, that the Duke of Argyle and the King, upon a war, would always be angry, because they both had a mind to command the army, which was impossible for either of them to do.

1738. After all the great noise there was of the Duke of Argyle's being irreconcilably angry with Sir Robert; every thing has past since in the house without his saying the least word to shew it; *that* was no surprise to me.

1738-9. I think it is quite sure that the Duke of Argyle is determined and has thrown away the scabbard, and he uses to have a very quick sight *when* it was time to leave a minister. I am satisfied that the Duke of Argyle will do as he says, and that will do more good than any three men that I could name to take that part.

1738-9. The Duke of Argyle spoke charmingly, (on the convention with Spain,) and has certainly thrown away the scabbard. And, as he is strongly in the right, and indefatigable, he will make a greater figure in this affair than any six men I could name together.

1738-9. I like the way the Duke of Argyle lately took, upon a very scurrilous paper being writ against him, by one that was known to be a court-writer for a pension; and it was intimated to the Duke that the author should be punished. But he answered very prettily, that if they prosecuted him,

he would come and defend him ; for the author had done what was right in saying what he was paid for ; and they did him no hurt. All the hatred I once had to him, upon a very just account, is now turned to love. However, as he don't want money, I should be glad they would turn him out.

1740. The Duke of Argyle's last speech is, I think, very well drawn ; and I suppose the account of his behaviour for four years last past is as well as he could make it. But there must be a veil thrown over many things that he did. However, as he has no interest now but to act for the good of the public, and has spirit and parts, I don't doubt but he will exert himself as much as he can.

1740-1. The Duke of Argyle spoke as well as it was possible for a man to do.

1741-2. The Duke of Argyle is to have all the places he was formerly possessed of. He has certainly had a great deal of merit in what has passed of late ; and I heartily wish he may act as well now as he has done.

QUEEN CAROLINE.

1737. (Long minutes concerning her last illness and death). Her death ascribed to a mortification proceeding from a concealed or neglected *hernia*.

1737. The Queen, in her illness, desired leave to make a will, which she did ; gave no legacy to any one, but left all to his Majesty ; and it was so worded, as I am told, that it takes in all she had in

England, or in any banks in other countries. Her jewels are worth a great sum ; but all that belonged to Queen Anne, Queen Mary, &c. she could no more dispose of, than of St. James's or Hampton Court. There can be no doubt of her having a great sum of money, which is not likely should ever be known ; and Mr. Selwyn, one of her agents, has said since her death, that she was in debt 5,000*l*. If that were true, I cannot see what reason there was for her Majesty to do anything, but to recommend her debts and her servants to the King.

1737. Our Bishops are now about to employ hands to write the finest character that ever was heard of Queen Caroline ; who, as it is no treason, I freely own that I am glad she is dead. For to get money, that has proved of no manner of use to her, and to support Sir Robert in all his arbitrary injustice, she brought this nation upon the very brink of ruin, and has endangered the succession of her own family, by raising so high a dissatisfaction in the whole nation, as there is to them all, and by giving so much power to France, whenever they think fit to make use of it, who will have no mercy upon England.

1737. His Majesty thinks he has lost the greatest politician that ever was born, and one that did him the greatest service that was possible. Though everybody else that knows the truth must acknowledge that it was quite the contrary. For my own part, it is demonstration to me, that nothing could

have put this nation and family in danger but the measures of the Queen and Sir Robert. To my knowledge, most of the weeping ladies that went to the King have expressed the same opinion of the Queen formerly that I have described.

1737-8. Upon her great understanding and goodness there come out nauseous panegyrics every day, that make one sick, so full of nonsense and lies, that there is one very remarkable from a Dr. Clarke, in order to have the first bishoprick that falls, and I dare say he will have it, though there is something extremely ridiculous in the panegyric ; for, after he has given her the most perfect character that ever any woman had or can have, he allows, that “she had sacrificed her reputation to the great and the many, to shew her duty to the King, and her love to her country.” These are the clergyman’s words exactly, which allows she did wrong things, but it was to please the King ; which is condemning him. I suppose he must mean some good she did to her own country, for I know of none she did in England, unless raking from the public deserves a panegyric.

1737-8. It seems to me as if her ghost did every thing by their saying, whatever is to be done, was the Queen’s opinion should be so ; and everything is compassed by that means by Sir Robert, without any trouble at all ; but if —— should happen to have an opinion of any person that is living, perhaps they may get the better of the ghost.

DOGS.

1737. I am very fond of my three dogs, they have all of them gratitude, wit, and good sense ; things very rare to be found in this country. They are fond of going out with me ; but when I reason with them, and tell them it is not proper, they submit, and watch for my coming home, and meet me with as much joy as if I had never given them good advice.

MY ENTAIL.

1738. I have made a settlement of a very great estate that is in my own power, upon my grandson, John Spencer, and his sons ; but they are all to forfeit it if any of them shall ever accept any employment, military or civil, or any pension from any King or Queen of this realm, and the estate is to go to others in the entail. This I think ought to please everybody ; for it will secure my heirs in being very considerable men. None of them can put on a fool's coat, and take posts from soldiers of experience and service, who never did anything but kill pheasants and partridges. Their heirs may do great service to their country, and ought to be well received when they go to court, since they will have nothing to ask ; for I would have them join with any King or minister when they desire nothing but what is for the good of the nation and the King, who in truth must always have the same interest. But if we should happen ever

to have a Prince that would rump members for giving their vote for the true interest of their country, in that case, a man with a great fortune may be very well contented to live at home, and keep much better company than I have known for many years at Court. Here is another advantage in this to the ministers, for if they should happen to do anything that is good for the public, they will have the honour of it themselves ; and it cannot be imputed to the wisdom of the great men which they generally choose to put into great posts ; and yet I do fancy that they will not like anything of this sort ; but as the money they give to people comes from the public, they had rather give something to all their supporters than to have them independent, so as that nothing can tempt them to do anything but what is for the general good as well as their own ; for I really think there are but few attendants that are the better for employments, unless such as have no estates at all.

FOREBODINGS.

1737. Whenever France makes use of the power the ministers have given them, which I cannot but think they will do, perhaps very soon, I should be glad to give half my estate to secure the rest ; and it would be a very good bargain. But, alas ! *that* would not do ; for there is such a general dislike to the present government, both in England, Ireland, and Scotland, that I believe people would be under

great difficulties to determine which side to take. And, except my family, which must suffer more than any other if France prevails, others, that are less obnoxious, would not be able presently to determine which was the easiest servitude, France or Germany : and I doubt the business would soon be determined, not as I wish against France. I don't wonder at anything the King or Queen does, because they know nothing of the truth. But I think Sir Robert must be under strange infatuation, who has so great a stake himself, and yet uses everybody ill that have been, and ever must be, sure friends to support the present government ; and, if he escapes the rage of the first disturbance, he cannot hope to support, by weak men and corrupt beggars, the going on against reason and law, and ruining so great a nation as England was. But I believe he will proceed to gratify all his passions ; and perhaps he thinks that, as he is older than the King or Queen, he may die himself in power ; which I wish he may, for the sake of my family, rather than that France should succeed. Though I think 'tis possible many may choose that servitude before another ; but I cannot see how England can escape being slaves to somebody.

1737. I don't think anything good can happen, unless by some accident that I cannot see into.

1737. We are in a great deal of danger from France ; which is so plain, that I am amazed that everybody who has a stake is not of the same opi-

nion. But the love of a little present advantage blinds them and Sir Robert too ; for certainly his stake is as considerable as most people's ; though, from the love of power, it is plain he has ruined England. I suppose one of his reasons for coming to such great extremities is, that he cannot bear losing his power, and thinks it may hold longer than he can live, and that by his death, all his ill-gotten treasure will go in course to his family. But I think he will be mistaken in that, and that there is a storm arising that will destroy irrevocably the liberties of England, whichever side prevails. It is impossible for anybody with common sense to believe that France won't endeavour to put one upon this throne that will be governed by them, as soon as they think it safe to attempt it. The Cardinal, who has certainly been a good minister to his own country, will naturally think it for his glory to restore King James's family to what they call their right, to establish his own religion in England, and to have a Prince here that will in all probability do everything they desire, instead of being at the expense of keeping them abroad. These are natural thoughts in a Cardinal, who has hitherto acted very wise and honestly for his own country, without putting it to any very extraordinary expense for himself. And I really think the game is very near up, and that, when any attempt is made upon this nation, even those people who have contributed towards the ruin of it by their foolish compliance,

will generally sit still ; and after so many forfeitures and executions, will not care to appear on either side till they see which is the likeliest to succeed, since it will be very hard for them to know by which side they shall suffer least. When I talk in this way to some of my acquaintance, they answer, they hope it won't be as I imagine, and that, if France attempted us, it would unite everybody in England. Their hopes, without giving any reason for them, are nonsense, and so it is to imagine that everybody in such a case would unite.

1737. What I dread most is the power of France ; for they will have no mercy on us, and I fear have power to do what they please ; and the generality seem to have so much hatred and contempt for one family, that, from that, and Sir Robert's government, God knows how soon this country may yet be made more miserable than it is. It is amazing to me that even the greatest knave and wretch upon earth will not act so as to save their estates, and some of them their places ; since anybody of sense enough to feed themselves must see things are brought to such extremity, that if they don't act as if they were honest men, they can have neither estates nor places in a very little time.

1737. Till the scene opens, how can anybody be certain what the event will be between so many knaves and fools as are concerned ? There is but one thing certain, that the innocent and guilty will be all ruined in a short time by the power of France ;

and if one could imagine that England could support themselves when there is so much disaffection to one place, I should not be very fond of any slavery ; but France, I think, is the worst, because, if that was settled, nothing can prevent it

1737-8. When the King of France thinks it time to attack us with a certainty of succeeding, there may perhaps be some little opposition to that, but it won't be considerable or long. But all public funds will be stopped to everybody, on account of the struggle there will be to save our last stake. And the conclusion will be, whichever side gets the better, that a thorough sponge will be made, and England and Scotland will be entire slaves, and under the direction of the worst men that can be got to have the government of both countries. I should be glad, for the sake of a very few, who I believe are worthy, to find that I am in the wrong. I am extreme old, and there are so very few people that deserve a better fate than seems to threaten England, that I am really very little concerned what happens, since there are so very few that don't deserve to suffer for having betrayed their country, by contributing to its ruin, for places, or a little money, which they did not want.

1737-8. Cardinal Fleury is a great deal more than fourscore ; and it is a sad thing to have nothing but his life to secure England from violent attempts ; if we could be sure, as I think we can-

not, that a Cardinal would not be desirous to establish Popery in this country, under a dependency on France, when he finds it can be done without hazard, and I have a notion that it is not far off; for I believe great part of the army are such men as will not be so successful in battle as they have been in their votes in parliament.

1738. I think, whatever changes happen, there can be nothing now that is good, there being such a general corruption among all people, that if a new government were to be settled, I do verily believe that both the parties, instead of joining to support and save the ruin of their country, would give away what money is left in the kingdom, to get places themselves, as they did when the last civil list was settled. Nay, I really question, whether, if a King and a minister designed to do everything that was right, a Parliament could be got that would let them; for they would say, that they must be paid as they used to be, whatever consequence that produced; and, like people that live upon drams, they will have money as long as there is any left for them.

1738. Miserable condition of the country.—Some accidents may, perhaps, put some little stop to the ruin of it; but nobody can foresee when it will happen, or whether we shall be much the better for it: but I am sure there is not the least prospect of recovering the prejudices we are under, by giving so much power to France, unless we

could imagine they will have as bad ministers as we have, which I think is not possible.

1738-9. I compare our situation to a ship near sinking, which can't be saved, but by some extraordinary accident which may possibly happen, but much more likely not to happen ; and the generality of the world are so worthless, that I am pretty indifferent when the total ruin comes. As far as anything depends upon me, I am sure nothing can hinder me from acting as I have done ; and, as I can't live long, I am sure they can't do anything that will quite starve me, who never had one grain of vanity in my inclination. I think in all ages there have been as bad men, and some worse, than Sir Robert. 'Tis true he has impoverished and ruined this country for power and gain ; but he could have done no mischief, if men of great fortunes had not assisted him ; which will certainly end in the ruin of themselves and their posterity ; and I am sure I have not the honour to be acquainted, or to have the least intimacy, with many that are not fools ; and I know of no remedy against that : and this nation had certainly been safe and happy, would men of fortune have acted, without any consideration of honour, what was truly to their own interest. Others may hope, if they can, in what is to come, but I have none.

1739. Though others had hopes, I never had any : though I find several people who are so sanguine as to think still that England will be saved ;

I cannot for my life see which way, since Sir Robert has all the money and power, and there are such number of fools and knaves to support whatever he has done or shall do.

1739. Sir Robert could not help a war ; but he will manage it so that nothing shall be got by it, by ill conduct, after all the people's money is drained from them, which he will get and dispose of in corruption. I can't live long enough to want necessaries, having bought land enough to produce beef and mutton at very dear rates, which make my produce very little in comparison of money at interest ; but still 'twill support one, unless an entire conquest come. But, notwithstanding this, my jointure and more than half of my property remains, and I can't help it, in the government funds and securities ; and I expect in some time to have them sponged off, by saying, there is no help for the necessity of the public, but by stopping payments, but that they will pay them when they can ;—all this I firmly believe will happen.

1740. Had a greal deal of discourse last night with one who calls himself a *patriot* ; but I don't find that he or any of the rest of them can give anything like a reason for any hope ; and when I press them upon that subject, all I can get is, that some accident may bring things about to be better. An accident is a very uncertain remote comfort ; and what accident can do it ? For my part, I cannot yet see into it, nor what great good it would produce

if Sir Robert should die, who I hear very often is ready to burst with laughing. The public is more in debt than ever. There is a vast army already in England, which is to be further increased; and much greater taxes must be raised to pay that expense, as well as a great fleet; neither of which have done anything, or are intended for any service, except the soldiers to awe the people of England, if they ever should be provoked to oppose arbitrary power; in which case, I am apt to believe that people would reflect how many had been hanged, and lost their estates for doing it. And I think we cannot expect any assistance from the army, as we had in the Prince of Orange's time, because all the old and good officers are dead or removed; and I know nobody left that, for the sake of their pensions, would not be for Sir Robert, if he should have a mind to declare himself King, besides their great ignorance and want of skill to act, if their heart would incline them to do anything that were right. Nothing is so plain as that Sir Robert has been in a long agreement with Cardinal Fleury; and that at the time that all this farce has been acted, and such a vast expense created, Sir Robert has ordered it so as to let the French and the Spaniards put themselves into such a condition as to make it, I think, next to impossible for Admiral Vernon to be saved; and I expect to hear that he and our fleet is destroyed soon, and consequently that Jamaica will be taken from us. And I have very great reason to

believe that Sir Chaloner Ogle has orders, if the delays in sending him have not put it out of his power to do anything, that he is positively forbid to do anything against the French, though they have been suffered already to fortify Dunkirk, contrary to the articles. If these things should happen, which I can see no reason why they should not, England to be sure will be in a great consternation. But how will they help themselves? Sir Robert has both Houses of Parliament, and will easily convince his Majesty that all he has done is for his service. And when the nation comes into such distress that Sir Robert can raise no more money upon the people, there must be without doubt a great fund from the savings of King George I., Queen Caroline, and what may easily be proved the present government has had from Ireland, old remains of rent paid the crown, the civil list settlement, Hessian troops, and many other such good inventions, more than two millions a-year, out of which, to be sure, there is a great bank; and nothing done for all this, except throwing away all the Duke of Marlborough's successes, and giving us up to France. And when they can get no more money from taxes, 'tis probable the hidden treasure may be made use of to support Sir Robert's absolute power. For my own part, I don't expect anything can happen that is good, since most nations are brought into slavery by the power of ill ministers. Much the greatest part of what I have of

my own, and likewise of the trust estate, I expect should be soon lost with a sponge ; and the rest of it, which is in land, will be reduced yet further by taxes and excises, which is half gone already. But I can't live long. I must submit to all misfortunes that cannot be helped.

1740-1. The Tories will not be satisfied without a Tory to be Premier Minister, and I have not heard of any one that is capable of governing. The nation is so vastly in debt, and the expense increasing daily, to support it against the foreign enemies, that I should wonder very much if men that have fortunes on the other side would undertake it. But if there should be men hardy enough to do it, is there employments enough to satisfy the chiefs of both parties ; and can our poor island furnish money enough to make any stand, without great alterations in the expense that it has hitherto been at ? I believe the great men at present employed would look very sourly upon any one who should propose to lessen their great increase of salaries, who have sold their country for what they did not want, as many as should remain of them in a new turn ; as those that come in would think it hard if their great merit should not have the same as has already been given. But all this is a trifle in comparison of the vast revenue the King has, which is already increased by adding to his family, and will be much more from the numerous issue of the next heir and his debts ; and I am apt to think that his Majesty would not look very kindly even

upon Sir Robert, or anybody else that should propose to him the lessening any part of his revenue, towards contributing to ease the nation of the destruction that his ministers have brought upon it.

GEORGE II.

Feb. 6, 1736. Heard this day, from a pretty good hand, that his Majesty has been worse than they cared to own ; but upon remedies they applied, his fever lessened, and he was better. However, the physicians say, that if he does get over this illness, he cannot live a twelvemonth.

1737. The King was opposed in the Council about the mourning for Queen Caroline by everybody but my Lord Wilmington. Some years ago there was an order made that nobody should put coaches or servants into mourning for any of their relations or court mournings. The nobility obeyed it, though they had fathers and wives as dear to them as the Queen could be to the King ; and the King said, he never meant to have it go to his own family. And my Lord Pembroke was as warm in this matter as anybody. But a man who will sell his country for a place, to be sure will put on any mourning.*

1737. I know one, a considerable man, who has seen the King once since this misfortune, (the death of the Queen), and though it was one the King

* It is reported that Lord Pembroke, after the expiration of the long mourning for Queen Caroline, appeared at Court in a black suit and weepers, that the King asked him the cause, and that he answered, " It is for my father, to whom I owe six months' mourning."—*Lord Hailes*.

would have disguised himself to if he could possibly, he says he never in his life saw any one so dejected, and that he looked as if he had lost his crown.

This puts me in mind of a thing that happened many years ago, which shews that his Majesty will hear reason when any one dares to speak it. There was a person that was refused a thing by his Majesty and the minister, that he thought justice and his due ; upon which he desired an audience, in which he represented what he thought proper. But his Majesty looked very angry, and upon this, the person, as he was going to speak, interrupted him, begged his pardon for it, and added, that he begged, before his Majesty gave him his answer, that he would consider he was a gentleman. This changed his Majesty's countenance, and he complied with what was desired.

1737. His Majesty saw the Queen's women-servants first, which was a very mournful sight, for they all cried extremely ; and his Majesty was so affected that he began to speak, but went out of the room to recover himself ; and yesterday he saw the foreign ministers and his horses, which I remember Dean Swift gives a great character of ; and was sorry to leave them for the conversation of his countrymen in England, and I think he was much in the right ; for his Majesty preferred them after the women of the Queen's family.

1737-8. The King is in so very ill a state of

health that he may not live long. And though he is certainly extremely dejected by the great loss he has made, (the death of the Queen,) I don't think that is all ; for a heart is a long time a-breaking ; and I have known very few instances of dying from the passion of love. But people of judgment say, that there is a vast change in his constitution, and that he is certainly very ill, and so much changed in his manner, that he does everything he is desired, and signs what is brought him, without inquiring into it.

1738. A lady that keeps very good company told me that his Majesty was now so much better that he entertained himself with playing with favourites, in a private way, as formerly. I did not hear what the game was ; but it was cards, and some queens were dealt to the King, which renewed his trouble so much, and put him into so great a disorder, that the Princess Amelia immediately ordered all the queens to be taken out of the pack.

GUSTAVUS VASA ; A TRAGEDY.

1738-9. Prologue has, I think, some lines good in it. The Duke of Grafton did not see the prologue, but refused to license the play, and said they must write plays upon such subjects as "The Orphan." I have read the play in manuscript, which is thought by judges to be a very good one. The story is not at all applicable to our present times, but of a King of Sweden, and has nothing in it but

characters of virtuous people, and speaking on the side of liberty, which is now a great offence.*

LORD HARRINGTON.

1737. Lord Harrington, an evidence against the Prince voluntarily, for he did not bring any message; and it is plain that he and Sir Robert came to see what they could draw out of the Prince, by their going immediately from him to my Lord Harrington's lodgings, to write down all he had said. However, as he is a man that has effected a great deal of civility between man and man, he, it is said, has vexed himself sick upon it; and for excuse he says, he did not know it was to be printed. But I don't see *that* a sufficient excuse; and if it was done without his knowledge and consent, he might have done something to have taken off the odium of being an evidence; but I believe not without losing his places, which is not to be expected from a man who has done so much dirty work as to rise so fast without any great parts.

LORD HERVEY.

1737. Lord Hervey is at this time always with the King in vast favour. He has certainly parts and wit, but is the most wretched, profligate man that ever was born, besides ridiculous; a painted

* The Duchess, though generally dogmatical enough, does not praise Mr. Brooke's tragedy; she only says that "it is thought by judges to be a very good one." The author, after having appeared in various characters, terminated his literary career with "The Fool of Quality," a romance fraught with unparalleled absurdities.—*Lord Hailes*.

face, and not a tooth in his head.* . And it is not above six months ago that the King hated him so, that he would not suffer him to be one in his diversions at play. I think 'tis possible that Sir Robert Walpole may make some use of him at first, and perhaps the other may have vanity enough to imagine that he may work himself up to be a great man ; but that is too mad, I think, to be ever effected, because all the world, except Sir Robert, abhors him; and, notwithstanding all the mischiefs Sir Robert has done the nation, and myself in particular, which generally people resent in the first place, I had much rather he should continue in power than my Lord Hervey. *P. 185* X

* Lord Hervey, having felt some attacks of the epilepsy, entered upon and persisted in a very strict regimen, and thus stopped the progress and prevented the effects of that dreadful disease. His daily food was a small quantity of asses' milk and a flour biscuit ; once a week he indulged himself with eating an apple ; he used emetics daily. Mr. Pope and he were once friends ; but they quarrelled, and persecuted each other with virulent satire. Pope, knowing the abstemious regimen which Lord Hervey observed, was so ungenerous as to call him "a mere cheese-curd of asses' milk." Lord Hervey used paint to soften his ghastly appearance. Mr. Pope must have known *this* also, and therefore it was unpardonable in him to introduce it into his celebrated portrait. That satirist had the art of laying hold on detached circumstances, and of applying them to his purpose, without much regard for historical accuracy. Thus, to his Hemistic, "Endow a college or a cat," he adds this note, that "*a* Duchess of Richmond left annuities to her cats." The Lady, as to whom he seems so uncertain, was *La Belle Stuart* of the Comte de Grammont. She left annuities to certain female friends, with the burden of maintaining some of her cats ; a delicate way of providing for poor, and, probably, proud gentlewomen, without making them feel that they owed their livelihood to her mere liberality.—*Lord Hailes*.

REDUCTION OF INTEREST.

1737. The bill to reduce the interest yet lower on the mortgages to the government, thrown out. Though I am very sure that Sir Robert at first intended it should pass, and though he spoke two hours upon it, nobody could provoke him to give any reason against its passing, further than that the bill was not well drawn, &c. And I find everybody is of opinion, that it will pass next sessions ; and that one considerable reason why it is deferred, is because the Queen herself has at least a million of money in that fund : and I don't doubt but there is another who has a great deal more ; so that there must be time given for them and others to sell out. And the stock did immediately rise on the bill's dropping, two and a half per cent., and how much higher it will rise nobody can tell ; but this is certain, that the people who have but little will be starved ; for when they are frightened, which will be once or twice a year, they sell as soon as the stock begins to tumble, and then when the government pays them in scraps, they buy at a higher rate to get a little interest to live. And at the same time that they (the ministers) will take half the interest money from the creditors, both rich and poor, under a pretence of paying the debt of the nation, I believe that it increases every day. All the patriots who are vehement in this scheme of reducing the interest to three per cent., few of them

I believe have any money ; but what their reasons are for joining in a thing which was certainly first set on foot by the ministry, is a secret that I have not been let into ; nor can I of myself comprehend why they would be so eager to take away one-fourth of what money everybody has, when it is plain they have not strength enough to obtain any account of those many millions which have been given by the public, nor any account of what they were so unjustly pursuing. So far from that, Sir Robert has declared, in some of the debates, that no taxes shall be taken off ; and if he had not done so, it would have been just the same thing to me ; for I am sure they will raise taxes as long as there is any money left in the kingdom.

1737. Sir Robert has declared, that the taxes shall not be taken off ; and had he said otherwise, that would have been no security from one who can put them on when he pleases, as he did in the salt tax, and one year after brought it on again, and mortgaged it for eleven years to come. But when he has taken one-fourth of what the proprietors have left, they have no way of helping themselves. I cannot see how the general ruin which threatens the nation can be helped, by taking so great a sum from the proprietors, to put it in the power of Sir Robert, or any subject who may happen to be master. It is certain that the bill for the further reduction of interest will pass next sessions, and that it had passed this, if it had not been to give time

for several considerable people to get their money out of the stocks before the interest is reduced. This all the patriots knew, and yet they would have joined to have taken more money from the people, at the same time that they saw they had not strength enough to carry one vote in anything Sir Robert opposes. And therefore, though I naturally love patriots, I cannot find any good reason for what they have done ; and I do think that one-fourth of what is left was better and more just to have been left in the people's own hands as long as it could. From the beginning of the reduction of the interest I lent such sums to the government as reduced the interest from six per cent. to four per cent. ; thinking it would have had a good effect for the security of the nation ; and at that time he could not have compassed such sums without me.* But he has returned this with letting me know, that he will take no more of *the trust-money* upon the land-tax or malt, though it is but at three per cent. ; and even that favour, though it is not a great one, he will do for everybody but our family. The nation could not be made safe from giving more money into the power of ministers ; and when any disturbance or invasion happens, the subject must give money to defend the country, for the debts will always continue at least as great as they are.

1737. The public requires the interest being re-

* This displays the injustice of that famous satirical passage in Pope,

“ But not like Marlborough's, at five per cent.”

duced; and I should be as willing to give my vote for anything that concerned the good of the nation as any man living; but as long as Sir Robert is minister, the patriots cannot possibly apply any money for the good of the public, nor will he ever lessen any taxes.

IMPROVEMENT OF LAND.

1736. No improvement of land, which I ever aimed at, has ever turned to better account than if one had purchased so much more new land to the old.

1737. I have very little opinion of *improvements*; more than to believe something is to be saved by a man's looking after his stewards and bailiffs, to prevent, as much as they can, abuses.

PURCHASE OF LAND.

1737-8. Have made a great purchase, thinking one may have a little from land for some time, whatever happens, for even I may live to see an end to all one's support from public funds.

1738. From fear of a sponge I have sold my stocks low, and bought land dear, which I did because I thought *that* would hold longest. From my having over-purchased myself, I must very soon take up money and pay interest for it.

1739. In the city to bid for Lord Yarmouth's estate, which I believe I shall have, and I do think it necessary to do it, because land will be the last

thing that will be taken from us, and I expect, a little sooner or later, a sponge, which will put an end to all stocks and money lent to the government.

SIR JOSEPH JEKYLL, MASTER OF THE ROLLS.

1737-8. The Master of the Rolls was on the side of the minority yesterday, (3rd February,) who has certainly done a great deal of mischief, though he is called honest.* But I have hardly known him to succeed, but when he is on the wrong side; and yesterday he said something so weak, that it made his friends smile, to the following effect, gravely, "that our hopes now was in the Czarina," who, I think, is a good way from us, and likewise from doing France any hurt.

KINGS.

1737. Were I a man, I freely own that I would not venture anything that I could avoid for any King that I know, or that I have heard of.†

1737. As princes are not the best judges of right and wrong, from the flattery they are used to, not to say worse of them, I think the best thing for them, and the whole nation, is not to let them have power to hurt themselves, or anybody else. A gentleman of Sweden has given me an account of the laws of

* He left the bulk of *his* fortune to the *sinking fund*; that bequest would, to a certain extent, have saved the Duchess's fortune from *the sponge*.—*Lord Hailes*.

† It is to be supposed, that the Duchess meant *male Kings*; for surely she would have done something for a female King, herself being "Viceroy over her."—*Lord Hailes*.

that country, which they now enjoy, but they did not compass it till the King or Ministers had destroyed that country, and made them excessive poor. I heartily wish *that* may not be our case, or worse.

1737. I am of opinion, from woful experience, that, from flattery or want of understanding, most princes are alike ; and therefore it is to no purpose to argue against their passions, but to defend ourselves at all events against them. This makes me think of the Castile oath, “ We, that are as good as yourself, and more powerful, chose you to be our King, upon such conditions ;” and concludes with what is most just and proper.

LIBERTY.

1737-8. I am, and shall ever be, of the opinion, that nothing is so much worth struggling for as liberty ; and I have given demonstration, that in all times I have done everything in my poor power that could contribute towards that happy condition ; and I will continue to do so as long as I live. But, alas ! what can it signify, the endeavours of an old woman ?

LIFE AND DEATH.

1737. I am a perfect cripple, and cannot possibly hold out long : and as I have little enjoyment of my life, I am very indifferent about it.

1737. It is impossible that one of my age and infirmities can live long : and one great happiness

there is in death, that one shall never hear any more of anything they do in this world.

1737. " When I consider life, 'tis all a cheat,
 Yet, fooled with hope, men favour the deceit ;
 Trust on, and think to-morrow will repay ;
 To-morrow's false than the former day,
 Lies more, and when it says we shall be blest
 With some new joy, cuts off what we possess.
 Strange cozenage ! none would live past years again,
 Yet all hope pleasure in what still remain,
 And from the dregs of life think to receive
 What the fresh sprightly running could not give.
 I'm tired with waiting for this chemic gold,
 Which fools us young, and beggars us when old."

Verses of Dryden, which I think very pretty, and which most people have felt the truth of.

1737-8. I think one can't leave the world in a better time than now, when there is no such thing as real friendship, truth, justice, honour, or indeed anything that is agreeable in life.

1738-9. I am so weary of life that I don't care how soon the stroke is given to me, which I only wish may be with as little pain as possible.

1739. As to my own particular, I have nothing to reproach myself with ; and I think it very improbable that I should live to suffer what others will do, who have contributed to the ruin of their country: and when I am dead I shall hear nothing of it, nor have the uneasiness, when I die, of parting with anything that gives me much pleasure. I have always thought that the greatest happiness of life was to love and value somebody extremely that re-

turned it ; and to see them often ; and if one has an easy fortune, that is what makes one's life pass away agreeably. But, alas ! there is such a change in the world since I knew it first, that, though one's natural pleasure is to love people, the generality of the world are in something or other so disagreeable, that 'tis impossible to do it ; and, added to this, I am a cripple, lifted about like a child, and very seldom free from pain.

1740-1. As I have seen so much of a very bad world, I must own I have no taste left, but to have what is just necessary to support myself and those that I am obliged to take care of, which are a great many.

DUKE OF MONTAGUE.

1740. All his talents lie in things only natural in boys of fifteen years old, and he is about two and fifty ; to get people into his garden and wet them with squirts, and to invite people to his country houses, and put things into their beds to make them itch, and twenty such pretty fancies like these.*

1741-2. He has a great estate, and is master of the grand wardrobe, part of my daughter's portion,

* He had other pretty fancies, not mentioned in the memoranda of his mother-in-law : he did good without ostentation. His vast benevolence of soul is not recorded by Pope ; but it will be remembered while there is any tradition of human kindness and charity in England.—*Lord Hailes*.

which I got him for life,* and which I was assured by a very understanding man, he would farm of him, and give him 8,000*l.* a year. He is not a man that has any demand on account of services done by sea or land.†

MOTION AGAINST SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

1740-1. Both parties find fault with each other : and for my own part, I believe them both to blame in many things ; but surely the Tories are the worst, and have always done the most mischief. I believe there is many knaves amongst them, but 'tis certain the majority of them are fools ; and the principles that they profess are both foolish and false. Many of the Whigs must be allowed to have sense, and to be much more capable of managing a government than Tories. But the majority of them are knaves, and they have shown, when they are in employment, that their chief aim is to keep their places, and raise themselves, without any regard to the good of the public. Those in the opposition did not imagine that they could carry the question in two such houses, without the promise from the Tories that they would join them, which they had ; and if they had performed, as they assured them they would, they would certainly have been as near

* What would the Duchess of Marlborough have said of Sir Robert Walpole, had he made a like boast ?—*Lord Hailes.*

† The Duchess forgets that he served, at an early age, under the Duke of Marlborough ; and that, during a peace of thirty years, he could not have made any more campaigns.—*Lord Hailes.*

carrying what they desired as in the excise-bill, which frightened Sir Robert so much that he durst not stand it. For 'tis certain, that, notwithstanding these promises, more than a hundred voted for the minister, and a great number went off with Mr. Shippen, who, some suspect, has taken money. Upon the whole matter, everything was extremely ill managed in the House of Commons; but in the House of Lords much better; and it is certain that my Lord Carteret did speak two hours as well as any man in the world could speak, but all in vain: and though I think the minority there was not lessened, the majority was but little increased. The town is now full of discourse upon these matters, and different opinions they have. Some of the Tories pretend to be ashamed of what they have done. Sir John Hinde Cotton, and Watkins Williams, and Lord Noel Somerset, voted, according to their promise, with the minority. I know none of them but Sir John Hinde Cotton, who, though they call him a Jacobite, I think he has too great an estate, and too much sense, really to be for a Popish government. But as he happened to be always of the Tory side, I suppose he thought he should make a better figure in being the head of a party than in leaving it.

CHAMBER ORGAN.

1737. I am now in pursuit of getting the finest piece of music that ever was heard; it is a thing

that will play eight tunes. Handel and all the great musicians say it is beyond anything they can do ; and this may be performed by the most ignorant person ; and when you are weary of those eight tunes, you may have them changed for any other that you like. This I think much better than going to an Italian opera, or an assembly. This performance has been lately put into a lottery, and all the Royal Family chose to have a great many tickets, rather than to buy it, the price being, I think, 1,000*l.*, infinitely a less sum than some bishopricks have been sold for. And a gentleman won it who I am in hopes will sell it, and if he will, I will buy it, for I cannot live to have another made, and I will carry it into the country with me.

PATRIOTS.

1737-8. I think great things might still be done with honest hearts and good heads ; but the demand is much too high, at least I can find very few that have either good heads or hearts. Some there are I believe of both sorts ; but much the greatest number are those that are called *men of understanding*, and are so blinded with some low present view for themselves, or fear, that they will not be of any good use.

1738. I think that all the people in places, and those of the patriots that have a mind to have them, will keep and get all the employments they

can to the last moment, without any regard to what may happen to England.

1738. I believe that, besides the great majority by Sir Robert's corruption, there is a majority likewise in the minority, who have so long pretended to be concerned for the safety of their country, who really mean nothing but to make some bargain for themselves.

1739. I think everything should be done that can be legally done to save this sinking nation; and I really believe 'tis intended by the generality of the minority; but I do not believe they all mean the same thing, which is a great disadvantage.

1739. I don't find that anybody thinks 'tis possible for any good to be done this sessions. Everybody that should act don't mean the same thing. Some are influenced wholly by bribes; others have views which they cover; and, upon the whole, I think that Sir Robert will die in power: and after that, what the next minister will do I can't tell; but I believe 'twill be like the horse full of flies, which the rider would not have brushed off, because an empty swarm would come to suck him.

1739-40. A great man in the opposition has brought his own relation into a place where he could have chose my footman, and one who has employments, and never did nor ever will give a vote against the Court. I think it is shameful to talk

against placemen, and to choose one one's ownself at the same time. He should rather have made his relation quit the Court, and have paid him with his own money for it. And it appears to me very ill-judged to cry out upon pensions, and at the same time bring one (a pensioner) into Parliament. Brutus put his own sons to death, which was terrible, because they were in a plot with others to destroy the government: but it would have been worse to have saved his sons for the same crime that their companions were executed for.

1740. As there are but few on the other side (the opposition) that have either true honesty, sense, or resolution, I think we have very little to hope.

1740. Some of those people who call themselves *patriots*, are certainly very good men; but I am very sure the whole party don't mean the same thing. They don't all go in a straight line to pursue steadily the right points; but they act coolly, sometimes one way and sometimes another, as they think it will turn most to what they secretly have in view, some to keep places they are in possession of, and others to get into them.

POLITICAL PAPERS.

1738. A paper writ on the minister's side,—I never read one of them before, knowing they are either nonsense or false. I think this artfully writ, and I am confident 'tis done by Dr. Hare. Such

papers, I think, impose on very ignorant people, a great many of which are in the country.*

EARL OF PEMBROKE.

1737-8. I don't look upon a blue ribbon to be any honour as they are generally disposed of, and yet I fancy my Lord Pembroke will be angry that — are preferred before him. But let him be ever so much offended at it, he won't act one right thing that can hazard his losing a guinea.†

PLAN FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A MINISTRY.

1737. There is nothing more plain to me, than that there is an opportunity to put a stop to any more mischief, and in time England might flourish again. But this, I think, depends on resolution, good sense, and honesty, of which, I fear, there is very little. I am nothing but an ignorant old woman, but I have seen a great deal of courts; and I do really think, that, without

* This is a fair acknowledgment, and it will be seen in its true light, when we invert the character of the writer, and suppose this to be said by a friend of the administration of Sir Robert Walpole, and not by an enemy. "A paper writ on the side of Opposition. I never read one of them before, knowing they are either nonsense or false."—*Lord Hailes*.

† Lord Pembroke had an infirmity which disabled him from sitting on horseback. When Britain took a part in the war of the Austrian succession, he resigned his regiment. "As I am not able to serve," said he, "I will not stand in the way of those who can." He, who would on no account have hazarded the loss of a guinea, quitted, from a punctilio of honour, a lucrative office in which he might have continued without censure!—*Lord Hailes*.

having any of the old Roman virtue, it is wiser for any great man not to be a premier minister, which, if we should ever happen to have a weak or an ill King, must lead a terrible life, besides being very insecure; and consequently, it would be best for a King as well as the nation, and everybody that has any property, or love to their posterity, to have all things done in council without a premier minister, which I have often heard is the law.* In that case many great officers would be answerable for what they did. They might live easily, do their country service, and their King. And as vacancies happened, others, as far as the nation would furnish, might take their places in succession. This has always been a notion of mine, for which I have been often laughed at. However, if I were a man, I would try what resolution, reason, and honesty would do, whatever it cost me; supposing that a man has no love to his country, nor care of his posterity, if we go on as we have done with premier ministers, if he has any property, must it not all be lost in a few years, and everybody reduced to slavery?

* Yet the Duchess knew, that under her *own* administration "all things were not done in council." The system which, as she had often heard, was the law, is a specious but vain theory. How could her "great officers be answerable for what they did?" If no one of them had influence over the others, each man could only be answerable for his own vote; and if any one had influence over the others, then there would be a *Premier* without personal responsibility.—*Lord Hailes*.

LORD POLWARTH AND HIS BROTHER.

1738. I have heard some say they are too warm ; but I own I love those that are so,* and never saw much good in those that are not.

ROMAN CATHOLICS.

1737-8. I am acquainted with some Jacobites, and I have some relations that are Roman Catholics. Though they are simple people, their party love them for their zeal ; and they do tell one another what they know, and I find they are all in extreme hopes at this time ; and one of them said lately to me, very simply, that there was come over a bill lately from Ireland, that was an additional cruelty to the Roman Catholics ; that their friends used the same endeavours to Sir Robert to have it stopped, notwithstanding which, the council here passed it immediately. I asked them *who* were the people that used to obtain favour of Sir Robert in such things ? They said, the French, Spanish, and Emperor's ambassadors had often prevailed with Sir Robert on such occasions ; and, though he would not desist on an ambassador's speaking, they still hope, when Cardinal Fleury and others from France could write, it might still be stopped in Ireland. This looks as if Sir Robert was more cautious than he has been formerly in taking advice from our enemies. Though I think his wisdom is a little too late, after joining those three great powers in an interest against England.

* She means those who are *said* to be too warm.—*Lord Hailes*.

CARDINAL DE RETZ.

1739. His history is entertaining, because he has wit and sense ; notwithstanding which, I must confess I don't like him much. For, if I were a man, I would not rebel, to have the greatest employment any Prince could give me. But if any tyrant broke the laws, and obliged me to draw the sword, I would never trim nor sheath it till justice was done to my country. I find in this history, that the Parliament and people without doors cried out violently, " No peace, no Mazarine : " and yet, in the conclusion, Mazarine got the better, and enslaved France. And by the description de Retz makes us of the nobles, their taking bribes, being very simple, and wholly bent on private interest, they resemble very much our House of Lords.

EARL OF SCARBOROUGH.

1738-9. Lord Scarborough voted with the minority, and spoke on the convention with Spain, though he has something so very particular, that I can't be sure he will go on, for he is always splitting a hair ; but there is now, I think, no hair to split.

SECESSION FROM THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

1738-9. Minority's resolution of not going to Parliament, where the corruption hinders them from doing any good, unless on private bills. Majority seem dissatisfied ; but there is no judgment to be made of what will follow from it, since the same men will always do as Sir Robert finds proper to

direct them. And perhaps he may pass everything that he pleases, and keep all the money raised from the public for himself and his brother.

1739. I find some people don't like the minority's absenting themselves from the House. A great number continue to do it. I am not acquainted with them ; but there are three that I think have sense, and are men of good character, which are, my Lord Cornbury, Mr. Plumer, and Sir John Barnard, who continue still to go. Whether the resolution will do good or no, I am not able to judge ; but I think there is nothing more plain than that their going to the House can do no good against so much folly and corruption ; and therefore I imagine that their leaving the Parliament is to shew the world that they do not join with it. And perhaps they may think that Sir Robert won't dare pass some acts with but little more than half the number : I wish it may be so. But I think he will use the nation as ill as the Spaniards did the seamen, rather than not compass everything he has a mind to.

CHARLES EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

1738. The Earl of Sunderland, it was thought, would be a fool at two-and-twenty ; but afterwards, from the favour of a weak prince, he was cried up for having parts, though 'tis certain he had not much in him.*

* The Duchess forgot that he held a distinguished office, together with the Marquis of Wharton, in " the most honest and best intentioned ministry that ever she knew." See article *Swift*. And that,

SWIFT.

1736. Dean Swift gives the most exact account of kings, ministers, bishops, and the courts of justice, that is possible to be writ. He has certainly a vast deal of wit; and since he could contribute so much to the pulling down the most honest and best intentioned ministry that ever I knew, with the help only of Abigail and one or two more; and has certainly stopped the finishing stroke to ruin the Irish in the project of the halfpence, in spite of all the ministry could do; I could not [cannot] help wishing, that we had had his assistance in the opposition; for I could easily forgive him all the slaps he has given me and the Duke of Marlborough, and have thanked him heartily, whenever he would please to do good. I never saw him in my life; and though his writings have entertained me very much, yet I see he writes sometimes for interest; for in his books he gives my Lord Oxford as great a character as if he was speaking of Socrates or Marcus Antonius. But when I am dead, the reverse of that character will come out, with vouchers to it, under his own hand.

1736. The style of the Lords' address puts me in mind of Dean Swift's account, who I am prodigiously fond of, which he gives of the manner in which he was introduced to the King of Luggnagg.

1736. I most heartily wish that in this park I had some of the breed of those charming creatures

if the Earl of Sunderland had the favour of so weak a prince as George I., he had also the favour of Queen Anne.—*Lord Hailes.*

Swift speaks of, and calls the *Houyhnhnms*, which I understand to be horses, so extremely polite, and which had all manner of good conversation, good principles, and that never told a lie, and charmed him so, that he could not endure his own country when he returned. He says there is a sort of creature there called *Yahoos*, and of the same species with us, only a good deal uglier; but they are kept tied up; and by that glorious creature the horses are not permitted to do any mischief. I really have not been pleased so much a long time as with what he writes.*

* I met lately with the following passage in an anonymous writer, which may serve as a contrast to the review of Swift drawn by the Duchess Dowager of Marlborough. "The religious author of 'The Tale of a Tub' will tell you, religion is but a reservoir of fools and madmen; and the virtuous Lemuel Gulliver will answer for the state, that it is a den of savages and cut-throats. Let it be as they say, that ridicule and satire are the supplement of public laws; should not then the ends of both be the same, the benefit of mankind? But where is the sense of a general satire, if the whole species be degenerated? and where is the justice of it, if it be not? The punishment of lunatics is as wise as the one, and a general execution as honest as the other. In short, a general satire is the work only of ill men, or little geniuses. The immortal Socrates employed his wit to better purpose; his vein was rich, but frugal; he thought the laugh came too dear when bought at the expense of probity; and therefore laid it all out in the improvement and reform of manners. But, not to be partial to antiquity, it must be owned, that even then, for one Socrates to reform, it had a Democritus to sneer, a Diogenes to snarl, nay, even an Heraclitus to weep at human obliquity. So much easier has it always been to invent a false philosophy on the credit of a prevailing passion, than to use even the first principles of reason to curb and restrain it. And here 'tis well worth observing, that he, of all those whom the world treated most severely, was the *Reformer*; as he who most grossly abused his reason, even to the arguing against geometrical demonstrations, was the *Scoffer*. Again, at

TOWN AND COUNTRY.

1736. One of my chief pleasures is, that after such an hour in this place (Windsor Lodge) I am sure I can see nobody. At Marlborough House it is very different; for there are many visitors, though few that have any sense, or that are capable of any friendship or truth. I would desire no more pleasure than to walk about my gardens and parks; but, alas! that is not permitted; for I am generally wrapped up in flannel, and wheeled up and down my rooms in a chair. I cannot be very solicitous for life upon such terms, when I can only live to have more fits of the gout.

1736. I never design to see Blenheim again: in a lodge I have everything convenient, and without trouble.

1737. Came yesterday from Wimbleton. Though it stands high, it is upon clay, an ill sod, very damp,

the revival of letters, a second Socrates arose in Erasmus, a Democritus in Rabelais, and a Diogenes in Peter Aretin. And again, the well-directed raillery of the Great Reformer drew down against its author more enemies than did all the filth, scurrility, and impieties of the buffoon and cynic."—*A Critical and Philosophical Inquiry into the Causes of Prodigies and Miracles, as related by Historians*, p. 32-34. Printed at London, 1727, 12mo.

It is a pity that the Duchess did not become acquainted at a more early season of life with the misanthropy of the Dean, for then a perfect reconciliation might have taken place between them, on principles common to both. That which surprises me most in the Dean's work, is his forgetting himself so much, in his haste, as to leave religion out of the idea of a perfect republic. Since he gave reason to his horses, he might, consistently enough, have given them a little natural religion.—*Lord Hailes*.

and I believe an unhealthy place, which I shall very seldom live in ;* and consequently I have thrown away a vast sum of money upon it to little purpose.

PRINCE OF WALES.

1736. A great bustle in the Houses of Parliament concerning the revenue which the public pays to the King to support the Prince of Wales. The Court carried it by a majority of thirty, not without the expense of a great deal of money, and a most shameful proceeding to threaten and fetch six men out of their beds to vote, for fear of losing their bread. But, notwithstanding this, the minority for the Prince was two hundred and four ; and a great many other members who would have been in it if they had been in town. A great many charming truths were said on that side ; no justice or common sense was expressed on the other. The speakers on the majority were Sir Robert, Horace, Sir W. Yonge, Pelham, and somebody of the Admiralty that I never heard of before. I am confident that, though the Prince lost the question, the ministers were mightily frightened, and not without reason, for it is a heavy weight two hundred and four, who were certainly on the right side of the question. And I am apt to think, that men who have been so base with estates, and so mean as to act against the interests of their

* This has been written in a fit of good spirits. On the verge of fourscore she determined to live very seldom at Wimbledon. When she was a year younger she preferred a convenient lodge to a palace. —*Lord Hailes.*

country, will grow very weary of voting to starve the next heir to the crown, since the generality of the majority has a view only to their own interest. And it is apprehended that the King is in so very bad a state of health, that, though he has got over his illness so far as sometimes to appear in public, yet we shall not be so happy as to have him live long; and everybody that sees him tells me that he looks at this time extremely ill. The Prince in all this affair has shewn a great deal of spirit and sense; and the intolerable treatment which he has had for so many years will no doubt continue him to be very firm, and to act right. House of Lords:—proxies and all but forty for the Prince, and a majority of near three to one on the other side.—Nobody surprised at that. I really think that they might pass an act there, if they pleased, to take away Magna Charta. 'Tis said, they don't intend to turn out anybody in the King's service who voted in this question for the Prince in either House. If they don't, I think *that* shews some fear. I am never very sanguine, and for a long time could not imagine which way the liberties of England could be saved. But I really do think now there is a little glimmering of daylight.

1737. The Prince has gone to make a visit to my Lord Cobham, where my Lord Chesterfield is, and some others that I think very good men. I believe keeping that company won't be agreeable to her Majesty.

1737. I much apprehend that all his good intentions will come too late to save us from destruction : for virtue without power is as useless as power without virtue is hurtful to us ; but still we must hope on, and be contented with what we can't help.

1737. There has been an extraordinary quarrel at Court.* The 31st of last month (July 1737) the Princess fell in labour. The King and Queen both knew that she was to lie in at St. James's, where everything was prepared. It was her first child, and so little a way to London that she thought it less hazard to go immediately away from Hampton Court to London, where she had all the assistance that could be, and everything prepared, than to stay at Hampton Court, where she had nothing, and might be forced to make use of a country midwife. There was not a minute's time to be lost in debating this matter, nor in ceremonials ; the Princess begging earnestly of the Prince to carry her to St. James's in such a hurry that gentlemen went behind the coach like footmen. They got to St. James's safe ; and she was brought to bed in one hour after. Her Majesty followed them as soon as she could, but did not come till it was all over. However, she expressed a great deal of anger to the Prince for having carried her away, though she and the child were very well. I should have thought it had been most natural for a grandmother to have

* What follows is probably a minute, drawn up from what the Duchess heard in the Prince's family.—*Lord Hailes*.

said, she had been mightily frightened, but she was glad it was so well over. The Prince said all the respectful and dutiful things imaginable to her and the King, desiring her Majesty to support the reasons that made him go away as he did, without acquainting his Majesty with it. And I believe all human creatures will allow, that this was natural for a man not to debate a thing of this kind, nor to lose a minute's time in ceremony; which was very useless, considering that it is a great while since the King has spoke to him, or taken the least notice of him. The Prince told her Majesty he intended to go that morning to pay his duty to the King; but she advised him not. This was Monday morning; and she said Wednesday was time enough. And indeed I think in that her Majesty was in the right. The Prince submitted to her counsel, and only writ a very submissive and respectful letter to his Majesty, giving his reasons for what he had done; and this conversation ended, that he hoped his Majesty would do him the honour to be godfather to his daughter, and that he would be pleased to name who the godmothers should be; and that he left all the directions of the christening entirely to his Majesty's pleasure. The Queen answered, that it would be thought the asking the King to be godfather was too great a liberty, and advised him not to do it. When the Prince led the Queen to her coach, which she would not have had him have done, there was a great concourse of peo-

ple; and notwithstanding all that had passed before, she expressed so much kindness, that she hugged and kissed him with great passion. The King after this sent a message in writing by my Lord Essex, in the following words : “ That his Majesty looked upon what the Prince had done, in carrying the Princess to London in such a manner, as a deliberate indignity offered to himself and to the Queen, and resented it in the highest degree, and forbid him the Court.” All the sycophants and agents of the Court spread millions of falsities upon this occasion, and all the language there was that this was so great a crime that even those that went with the Prince ought to be prosecuted. How this will end nobody yet knows, at least I am sure I don’t. I have not heard yet of any christening being directed ; but for that I am in no manner of pain ; for if it be never christened, I think ’tis in a better state than a great many devout people that I know. What I apprehend most is, that the crown will be lost long before this little Princess can possibly enjoy it.

1737. They have printed all the letters and messages that have passed between the King, Queen, Prince, and Princess. This shews that the minister thinks he has been in the right ; but I don’t find any reasonable body of that opinion. And I observe that they have left out in this printed paper a message from his Majesty to the Prince, which was brought in writing by my Lord Dunmore ; in which

they judged very well, for it was certainly a very odd one, as I think it is, my Lord Harrington's and Sir Robert Walpole's evidence concerning the Prince, some part of which is certainly untrue. But upon the whole matter, nobody can think that the Prince designed to hurt the Princess or the child, which was of much more consequence to him than it can be to her Majesty, who has so many children of her own. If the Prince had not had good success in what he ventured to do, and if it had been a real crime, the submissions the Prince has made, one would think, ought to have been accepted, for the omission of a ceremony that was not natural for the Prince to think of at that time ; and especially as he was treated at Court. But I suppose that Sir Robert did not think it a proper thing to say, that the true cause of the quarrel was the Prince's seeming to have a desire to have the whole of the allowance which the public pays for his support ; and indeed I do think it would not have been becoming to have given that reason for what has been done. But if I may presume to give my opinion against Sir Robert's, I should rather, in his place, have chose to have sent the message to the Prince, that he must leave St. James's, because the King was dissatisfied with his behaviour in general ; and not have given such strange reasons for the quarrel, and then publish a printed account with so many reflections upon the Prince, which no man that has any notion of honour can ever forgive.*

* I cannot discover what was the real cause of this unhappy quar-

1737. The courtiers talk much of a reconciliation. If there is any design to compass that, surely it was as ill-judged as everything else, to publish such a character of the King's son all over England.

1737-8. There is a great deal of very good company goes to Norfolk house ; but if I were to advise, I would have more play, to make more people easy by sitting down, as it used to be in all the courts that ever I knew, either by a basset-table, or at other games, letting people of quality go halves. But they begin, to my thinking, with the same forms as the late Queen did, only to have room to entertain two* of the town ladies, and I think it don't lessen one's greatness, but the contrary, to make everybody one can easy.

rel. The Duchess seems to think that it originated in the motion for the augmenting of the Prince's revenue. It is probable that the whole matter will be explained to posterity, should the memoirs of Lord Hervey ever see the light. I have reason to believe that they are written with great freedom. And here I must be permitted to observe, that they who suppress such memorials of modern times, do all that in them lies to leave the history of the eighteenth century in darkness. In the sixteenth century it was the fashion to preserve original papers, in the eighteenth it is the fashion to destroy them. Hence we know more of the reign of Queen Elizabeth than we do of the reign of George I. For example, who were engaged in the original project of the Rebellion in the year 1715? What was the cause of that unnatural schism of the Whig administration in the reign of George I.? Who were the projectors of the Swedish invasion in 1718? And were the letters of Count Gillenbourg decyphered by the science of Dr. Willis, and without the aid of the cypher itself? Is there any history of the South Sea scheme authenticated by original papers? Were we to proceed to our own times, fifty queries of the like nature might be put, and as matters now stand, not one of them would receive a probable solution.—*Lord Hailes.*

* Probably "a few."—*Lord Hailes.*

1738. They have found a way in the city to borrow 30,000*l.* for the Prince at 10 per cent. interest, to pay his crying debts to tradespeople. But I doubt that sum won't go very far. But they have got it, tho' great pains was taken to hinder it. The salaries in the Prince's family are 25,000*l.* a-year, besides a good deal of expense at Cliefden in building and furniture. And the Prince and Princess's allowance for their clothes is 6,000*l.* a-year each. I wish his Royal Highness so well, that I am sorry there is such an increase of expense more than in former times, where there was more money a great deal. And I really think it would have been more for the Prince's interest, if his counsellors had thought it proper to have advised him to live only like a great man, and to give the reasons for it; and in doing so, he would have made a better figure, and have been safer: for nobody that does not get by it themselves, can possibly think the contrary method a right one.

1738-9. The Prince of Wales has done, I think, a very right thing, for he has declared to every body, that though he did design to bring the business of his revenue into the House, he is now resolved not to do it, it being but a trifle, and what could not succeed after losing a question of so much consequence for the preservation of the nation.* But I think all this prudence will be of no use to prevent France's settling this country as that King

* Respecting the Convention with Spain.

pleases, after we are still made poorer, by what Sir Robert has done, and will do further.

1739. I hear some people find fault with the Prince's having voted in the House of Lords with the minority; but I can see no reason for that. For surely he was as much at liberty to do it, as any other Peer; and I can't comprehend why he should not give his vote in anything that so manifestly was for the good of England.

PRINCESS OF WALES.

1737-8. The Princess speaks English much better than any of the family that have been here so long, appears good-natured, and civil to everybody; never saying anything to offend, as the late Queen did perpetually, notwithstanding her great understanding and goodness.*

* Among the MSS. I find a writing with this title; *A Character of her Highness the Princess * * **, attempted by Richard Hollings, M.D. It runs thus :—

“I am sensible how difficult it really is to be impartial, and how much more difficult it is, to seem so, in drawing the characters of persons of the highest birth and rank. The praise or the blame which they may justly deserve, is severally ascribed to the interested views or the private resentment of the author. I should therefore not have attempted the character of this most excellent Princess, could there have been the least room for suspicions of that nature. But having no obligation or disobligation whatsoever to her, I shall speak the truth in the sincerity of my heart. And I likewise call upon all and every one of those who have the honour to know her as well as I do, to contradict me, if they can, in any one particular. I have observed her with attention from almost the hour of her birth, and have carefully marked the progressive steps of nature. I have seen her in her most unguarded moments, and have seriously and critically considered whatever fell from her; so that I may without vanity assert, that nobody is better qualified to

SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

1735-6. The chief must have great talents, or he could not have compassed what he has. But I do really believe, that there never was any instance in

tell the truth than myself, though others might be much more capable of adorning it.

“ I shall say nothing of the beauty of this incomparable Princess : it is her mind, and not her person, which we intend to delineate.

“ Neither shall I dwell upon her high birth and station any longer than to observe, that she seems to be the only person ignorant of that superiority. She has never been heard to give the most remote hint of it ; much less has she ever been observed to assume even that degree of state which others, much inferior to her in birth, are so foolishly fond of.

“ It would be saying but little in praise of this excellent lady to observe, that she had early acquired many friends ; for *who* in that high station has not ? where the power of obliging and doing good is so extensive, it must be the weakest head, as well as the worst heart, that does not exert it, and make many happy friends. But, what is much more rare in her station, she has not one enemy.

“ Equally humane to all who approach her, she neither stoops to meannesses, nor insolently insults, in proportion as she imagines the persons may be useful or useless ; for, having nothing to ask, fear, or conceal from any, she behaves herself with unconcern to all.

“ She was never known to tell a lie, or even to disguise a truth : uncorrupted nature appears in every motion, and honestly declares the present sentiment. Her smiles are the immediate result of a contented and innocent heart. They are never prostituted to disguise inward rancour and malice, nor insidiously displayed to betray the unwary into a fatal confidence.

“ The tears she sometimes sheds are not less sincere ; they flow only from justifiable causes, and not from disappointed avarice, ambition, or revenge. Nor are they the forced tears of simulated compassion, but real kindness of heart. Moreover, she never cries for joy.

“ She is a rare instance of liberality and economy : for, though her income be but small, she retains no more of it than what is absolutely necessary for her subsistence, and properly and privately disposes of the rest ; free from the ostentation of little or sordid minds,

any government of so much brutality, ill principles, and folly. But which way any of these things can be changed, I cannot yet see into.

1736. Sir Robert in the House of Commons, in the debate where it was taken notice of the shameful things that they had done in turning out officers of great merit, said, that a minister must be a very pitiful fellow, if he did not turn out officers who pretended to meddle with the civil government ;

who, by profusion in trifles, hope to conceal the insatiable avarice and corruption of their hearts.

" Though born and bred in a court, she never engages in the intrigues and whispers of it, nor concerns herself in public matters. Far from retailing or inventing lies, promoting scandal and defamation, and encouraging breach of faith and violation of friendship, one would think by her behavior, that she had never even heard of such things.

" Her silence, considering her sex, is not the least admirable of her many qualifications. She never speaks when she has nothing to say, nor graciously tires her company with frivolous, improper, and unnecessary tattle.

" She is entirely free from another weakness of her sex, attention to dress. And it is observable, that if she is ever out of humour, it is in those moments in which she is obliged to conform to custom in that particular.

" Having thus finished this imperfect sketch of this inimitable character, I shall only add for the information of the curious, that this most incomparable Princess was given us on the 31st of July in 1737. Name, indeed, she has none. But had ever such a Princess a name ? or can any man name me such a Princess ?"

" This paper," says the Duchess of Marlborough, " made me laugh, for I think there is a good deal of humour in it, and two very exact characters."

It is curious to see the various shapes which party resentment can assume. We have already met with a satire on Queen Caroline, in the form of an inscription to the honour of Queen Anne. And here a more virulent satire appears under a quibbling character of the infant daughter of the Prince of Wales.—*Lord Hailes*.

and that he would leave that advice as a legacy to those ministers that might succeed him. If I had been a parliament man, I should have been so saucy as to have asked why the soldiers were in parliament. For, according to Sir Robert's notion, they were only to be a standing army to plunder, and ruin us as occasion offered, and to vote away our property when they sat in the house.

1737. As long as Sir Robert is minister, the patriots cannot possibly apply any money for the good of the public, nor will he ever lessen any taxes: And as long as the Queen lives Sir Robert will be minister. I think, whatever happens, England can never be what it has been, unless France could have such ministers as Sir Robert and his brother, which is not possible.

1737. My own opinion may, possibly, be very wrong, for it is only from what I think I see, putting things together, for nobody tells me anything that I can depend upon the truth of. But I am confident there is nothing in the world that Sir Robert Walpole desires so much, as to secure himself by a treaty of quitting with safety: and in that, to be sure, he is extremely in the right. And I do believe, there are some so desirous to have the power, that they will give him a golden bridge to go over; and that there will be a scheme to settle a ministry, from which I cannot believe England will receive any good. I believe there will be no scheme offered for reducing interest or abolishing the liberty

of the press, till all things are settled for releasing Sir Robert. Though, I dare say, several that may be in the ministry, may like, as well as he, to hinder complaints and representations of that sort; and will consequently bring it about in a proper time. But at present, the Prince will be told, that by this new scheme he will have a better revenue in a little time, compassed by the mixture of the old ministry and those in the opposition joining. And that it will be a great triumph to him, to force Sir Robert to quit, which he would give a great sum of money to obtain. And in this manner, I think, the scheme is to be carried on without restoring us to any one article made at the Revolution, or abating, in reality, one shilling of the grievous taxes. But more would be added, if there was a possibility of raising it. Not a shilling of the public debt will be paid; for the rich corn is already gone, and the mixed ministry will only have some gleanings left.

1738. Whoever thinks of being a minister, likes fools better than men of sense, who they can't govern and make do wrong things for their private interest. Sir Robert is a great instance of this, who has been assisted by such sort of creatures: for I think he has hardly anybody in his great majority but such, and those who, though they are not strictly to be called idiots, have so much passion for money, that they won't lose a guinea to save their own estate, and the liberties of their country.

1738-9. Sir Robert told Mr. Sandys lately, that

perhaps they might get the better of him, but he was sure no other minister would ever be able to stand so long as he had done, twenty years; to which Mr. Sandys replied, he hoped he never should. But, for my part, I wish we might have a minister that had power to the age of Cardinal Fleuri, if they deserved from their country as well as he does from France.

1739. [Long minutes concerning an illness which Sir Robert Walpole had.] I think 'tis thought a fault to wish anybody dead, but I hope 'tis none to wish he may be hanged, having brought to ruin so great a country as this might have been.

1740-1. Some people refine so much as to think Sir Robert will be glad to make himself sure of his great fortune, and quit, if he can have terms that can secure him. And I have no doubt but that there are some of the minority side that would be glad to come into his place, though ever so dangerous a situation. It is not in my opinion an unreasonable inclination in Sir Robert to have a mind to secure himself with such a vast wealth,* after the mischiefs he has done. But the difficulties are so great in that scheme, that I confess I cannot see how it can be brought about, as Sir Robert appears at this time to be settled, and is in reality

* The vast wealth of Sir Robert Walpole was, I remember, the cry of the day; and it seemed as if he had purchased most of the county of Norfolk, and possessed one-half at least of the stock of the Bank of England. He himself said, in his familiar way, "People call me rich, but my brother will *cut up* better."—*Lord Hailes*.

King, and will be so long as he lives, which I believe he does not expect should be longer than the King, who is, I believe, in very good health; and as long as there is any money in the nation, I think he will not part with his power, nor trust to a new ministry; though I don't expect those that may come in to govern will ever punish an offender for example's sake. But if this wonderful thing should be brought about, Sir Robert will still be behind the curtain,* with an immense estate, and make it very uneasy to any minister.

1741-2. How well they have begun in the House of Commons—I find that those who can judge very well, think that Sir Robert cannot fail of being punished;† and I wish it may go as far as he deserves, not out of any malice or revenge, but because I really think the constitution cannot be recovered, without some example being made. No government can be so bad as it has been. *X 217*

* This, as is generally the case, proved a mere bugbear.—Cold friends, rather than zealous adversaries, wrought the fall of Sir Robert Walpole. Having resigned, he took no longer any concern in majorities and minorities.—*Lord Hailes.*

† The opinion of those good judges was ill-founded: among us a minister is changed with no more ceremony than a guard; and the old minister, like the old guard, is suffered to go about his business. At the siege of Tournay, in 1747, the French said to the Dutch, who were defending an out-work, “Retirez vous, messieurs, nous ne voulons qu’aux murailles.” Which may be thus rendered for the benefit of the mere English reader; “Get you gone, gentlemen, it is only the town that we want.” Sometimes, indeed, it may be necessary to amuse bystanders with a talk of impeachments, and pains and penalties.—*Lord Hailes.*

WINDSOR ELECTION.*

March 19, 1737-8. Disputed election at Windsor will be heard at the bar of the House on Thursday next; in which the Duke of Marlborough assisted a country gentleman with a very good estate. They tell me, it is the strongest election that ever came into that House. The opposer is my Lord Vere, Nell Gwyn's grandson, and of the family of the idiots, who I dare say will carry it; because they will always vote as they are ordered by the minister, let him be ever so bad. Nothing illegal or wrong has been done on the Duke of Marlborough's side; for people out of power can neither turn any one in nor out. But on t'other side all manner of infamous practices were used. Notwithstanding which, the mayor was forced to return both candidates, the votes being equal. His Majesty was pleased to say publicly in the drawing-room, when the account was given him of it, "But we have the returning officer." The members in constant pay will be assisted by some of the patriots, so it will only be a trouble to no purpose. One of the patriots, who is Mr. Grenville, my Lord Cobham's heir and nephew, has declared already, that he is extremely

* This account of the Windsor election exceeds in acrimony every thing in the Duchess's meditations. The St. Alban's family had the same sort of royal interest at Windsor that the Marlborough family had, and of a more ancient standing; and surely Lord Vere, personally considered, was no despicable candidate. The Duchess writes with so much violence on the subject, that I have been obliged to curtail her long stories.—*Lord Hailes.*

sorry he can't be on the right side, to which he wishes success : but he has married a relation of Lord Vere's wife. A poor soldier, whose arm was shot off under the Duke of Marlborough, and who had a pension from Chelsea College, was ordered to give his vote for Lord Vere, having a house at Windsor, and a right to do it, and told if he did not, his pension should be taken away. To which he answered, " I will venture starving rather than it shall be said, that I voted against the Duke of Marlborough's grandson, after having followed his grandfather so many hundred leagues." And accordingly he voted against Lord Vere. I don't know whether they have taken away his pension, but I hope they will, for I have sent him word, if they do take it away, I will settle the same upon him for his life.

March 27, 1738. The Windsor election ended last night. And after it was demonstrated, that the side the Duke of Marlborough was of had a clear majority all ways they could possibly turn it, without pretending to argue on Lord Vere's side, because they had nothing in the world to say, they put the question, and carried it, "That Lord Vere was legally chose by 240 to 160." There was nobody that shined so much in the debate as my Lord Polwarth, his brother, and Mr. Plumer. The two first I have heard some say are *too warm* ; but I own I love those that are so, and never saw much good in those that are not. But if we had a

thousand speakers, it had been the same thing. For the facts were so strongly proved on our side, as to be enough for anything but corruption, had nothing been said at all. One that is a very good observer, gave me an account, that he had time to examine the faces of the voters on Sir Robert's side, and he said, some of them looked angry, others grieved, and others laughed. Nothing so detestable as the behaviour of some of the patriots. My Lord Cobham's heir, Mr. Grenville, said, he wished Mr. Oldfield might succeed, for it was right, but he had married Lady Vere's sister, and therefore must be for Lord Vere. It is impossible for anybody to believe, that my Lord Cobham could not have hindered his heir from giving a vote so shameful to his nephew and self, as he professes being such a patriot. Mr. Berkley had another reason for being on that side, for he is Lady Betty Germaine's* relation, and hopes to get some of her riches when she dies. My Lord Scarborough persuaded his brother, Sir William (Thomas) Sanderson, to vote contrary to his promise and his reason, for it was said, that his brother had desired him to do it because he lived so much with Lady Betty Germaine. My Lord Townshend writ out of the country, to command his son to be for Lord Vere, right or wrong, and he obeyed his father's commands, contrary to his promise and his known inclination. Two of the three admirals voted for Lord Vere.

* The Duchess always calls her *Jermyn*.

though they owned they had been wronged, by bringing him over their head. The third admiral, Steward, staid away. A gentleman who has the most profitable place in the Prince's family, voted for them or stayed away, I don't know which. And the reason for that I think was the best of any, that the St. Alban's family had voted in a cause of his, as bad as this of Lord Vere's ; which I allow was a great obligation, but such a one as he never could have had from me. Another of the patriots, I don't remember his name, voted for Lord Vere, because he had been his school-fellow. And Mr. Compton, my Lord Wilmington's nephew, voted against the Marlborough interest, who had not been in the House, if the Duke of Marlborough and John Spencer had not chose him in Northamptonshire, which I hope they'll remember, if this country subsists so long as to have another election. My Lord Wilmington has been a great manager in this affair, and governed the Mayor of Windsor in all his proceedings. And the Duke of Dorset commanded one of his sons to break his word, which he did with a great deal of trouble. The Master of the Rolls sent me word he would be sure to attend the causè, if it was heard at the bar of the House, supposing then it would not be heard there ; but when he found it was, he pretended to be sick. This strange woman (Lady Betty Germaine) has had a great influence over many, even upon Mr. Sandys, who would have been an useful man in the House of

Commons, but could not be prevailed on to take any part in this affair. But it was too infamous for him to vote in such a cause for Lord Vere, and he sat silent all but his vote. And his —— wife, and he too, are often at court. His Majesty declared publicly at his levee, before the election was decided, that Lord Vere should have the seat in Parliament, for Windsor was his borough.

WOMEN.

1737-8. Women signify nothing unless they are the mistress (es) of a prince or a first minister, which I would not be if I were young; and I think there are very few, if any women, that have understanding or impartiality enough to serve well those they really wish to serve. 275.

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CORRESPONDENCE
OF THE
DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

tion, or for Sir Godfrey Copley's (who was appointed the Chairman) leaving the chair, whereby the question would have fallen without being put at all, and without any prospect of being resumed another time. But this was not approved by other gentlemen, viz., Sir Richard Onslow, Sir Joseph Jekyll, Mr. Smith, and some others, who alledged, that since it was acknowledged on all hands, that there were dangers to be feared from Scotland, that the succession wanted some further strengthening by reason of some deficiencies in the Act of Settlement, it would not be advisable to leave the chair, much less to put a negative upon the question, till that bill which was this day sent down from the Lords (viz., to establish a Regency in case of the Queen's demise, till the next heir arrived) had been under the consideration of the House, that in case that bill should not be approved of, they might have another day to consider whether this would be an adequate remedy for our disease or not; and therefore, they were, before they left the subject, for an instruction to the chairman to ask leave to sit again. But upon Mr. Secretary Harley's acquainting them, that though he should leave the chair, they were not however concluded, but might, whenever they would, go into this committee, they were satisfied; and the committee rose without coming to any resolution at all. The reason of this proceeding, my Lord, we look upon to have been, that gentlemen might see, that in case

the Regency should not pass, it would not be impossible for them to go into the other motions; thinking by that means, to make that bill go down the easier in the House of Commons.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

Hague, April 19, 1706.

Since my being here we have had no letters from England, and by what I have seen from France they make so slight of what is doing in Portugal, that I shall know nothing of that matter, but what you send me.

We hear to day that the Duke of Vendome has beaten a part of Prince Eugene's army, killed three thousand, and taken eight hundred prisoners. I hope it is not so bad; however, it makes us very uneasy, as does the behaviour of the King of Prussia. I send Mr. Secretary Harley a letter I have received from him, and my answer to it. I beg you will see them, and then you will judge if they ought to be read or not at the Cabinet Council.

I have obeyed your commands to Mr. Hill, and have had a great deal of discourse with him concerning 28 (Italy), of which he has a very ill opinion.* However, I can see nothing else to be done.

I am to have a meeting next Sunday with some

* The favourite project of the Duke of Marlborough, at the beginning of this year, was, to join with Prince Eugene, and to remove at once the seat of the war into Italy.

burgomasters of Amsterdam, for those I have consulted here dare not agree to what I propose, unless I can persuade them to approve of it. I hope by the next post to let you know what I shall be able to do ; for by that time I expect 136 (Cadogan), for if 322 (the Elector of Hanover) does persist in not letting his troops march, it will be impossible to have the numbers, though these people should consent ; for they are very positive that they dare not consent to the letting their countrymen go. In short, they are very much afraid of 313, 321 (King of Prussia), and their own people. By all that I can hear, there is but too much reason to fear, that 221's intentions are that his troops shall not be of much use to us this year. The letters from Portugal say nothing of their fleet, but that they hope to be masters of Barcelona by the end of this month.

CHARLES IRWAS* TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

Rome, Aug. 21, 1706.

My Lord Duke,

I did myself the honour to write to your Grace the last post, which I hope came to your hands. However, I repeat the same thing, that Don Livio Odescalchi resolves to sell his collection, and sent his agent to my friends in England, that here are about a hundred pieces of the best authors, most

* The painter.

of them in the best condition of any of the several kinds. I believe there may be a thousand in all, but I reckon about a hundred fit for your Grace. I am sure the French King never had such an opportunity, though he bought for about two or three hundred thousand louis-d'ors about thirty years ago. The statues, and marble pillars, and tables, I omitted on purpose last week, though perhaps the medals too might have been mentioned properly enough, making together a glorious collection.

But the pictures are what I suppose most easy to be bought and exported. I have not so much as asked the price till I hear whether your Grace has a mind to them or no. The Duke of Shrewsbury was discoursed with on this subject, and I believe could give some light on the matter. And if I remember right, my Lord Treasurer and my Lord Pembroke told me of a project in King William's time to make this purchase. If your Grace does me the honour to send an answer immediately, it will reach me in Italy, enclosed to Mr. Newton, our envoy at Florence, or Mr. Broughton, consul at Venice.

I am, &c.

EARL OF MAR TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

Edinburgh, Sept. 28, 1706.

May it please your Grace,

I am very loth to give you any trouble, and particularly in relation to anything of the Scots' troops

under your command abroad ; but my concern for some of my friends who have the honour to serve under your Grace makes me presume to solicit you in their favour.

The vacancies by Lord John Hay's death, and the Duke of Argyle's getting an English regiment, will I hope give your Grace an opportunity to advance my Lord Dalrymple, and of providing my Lord Tullibardine. I doubt not but your Grace knows Preston to be a very pretty fellow, and a good officer, of long service, therefore I would be sorry if he were prejudged ; but though my Lord Dalrymple were preferred, yet I hope your Grace would order it so, that Preston would be provided too. But I trouble you no more about it ; and I hope your Grace will pardon my meddling with this, which I confess is out of my road ; but my concern for those three gentlemen made me presume on your Grace's goodness, for which I beg pardon.

I cannot yet make such a judgment of the fate of the union here as your Grace can perfectly rely on ; for few of the Parliament-men are yet come to town. But since the Queen's servants came to Scotland, people's humours against it are mightily altered : and the more there is known of the terms, the better the union is liked. The Presbyterian ministers who were most alarmed for fear of Presbytery, are now coming about, when they see it will be served ; and I hope they will be very cor-

dial. We have gained several Parliament-men who were formerly against it, and I know of none of our friends whom we have lost ; therefore I have good hopes of success.

The great and glorious success which your Grace has every day abroad, and the other successes which the Queen's troops and her allies have had this campaign, will make our work the easier here. I hope the Queen ere long will restore peace and liberty to Europe, and unite her subjects at home ; all things are now in so prosperous a way, which everybody must be sensible is not a little owing to your Grace. I beg leave to submit myself, &c. &c.

I saw my Lord Commissioner after his letters were sealed, and he desired me to let your Grace know, because he had forgot, that he believed you would receive a letter to him from my Lord Lothian,* with his pretensions to the royal regiments of Scots Dragoons, which he leaves to your Grace's consideration ; but we are so straitened here, that there is no room for anybody, but who are amongst us, to have his regiment here, and he is also an old major-general.

QUEEN ANNE TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

St. James's, Dec. 28th, 1706.

I have now yours of the 27th and 30th to thank you for ; and must add my hearty congratulations

* William Ker, second Marquis of Lothian, and afterwards one of the representative peers.

for your glorious conclusion of this campaign, in which the hand of God is very visible.

May He still be pleased to continue His goodness to us ; and grant the next may end with a safe and honourable peace. I am very sorry to find you are like to be kept so long abroad, after all your fatigues are over ; and wish with all my heart the service would permit you to return, for we want you mightily at home, and none more than your unhappy faithful servant.

(A Copy in the hand of the Duchess.)

Endorsed by the Duchess.—The reason that this is only a copy is because the Duke of Marlborough gave me leave to open the Queen's letters to him before I sent them, and I often took copies because he seldom kept any letter.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

Bruxelles, May 19th, 1707.

Since my last we have had no letters from England, nor anything more from Spain ; but from Dunkirk we have the ill news of two of our men-of-war being brought into that place with several merchantmen. By letters of the 30th of the last month from Turin, I find Lord Peterborough was gone from thence, and that he had told the Duke of Savoy he would call upon me in his way to England. His chiefest business was to persuade his Royal Highness to send troops to Catalonia, so that they might be able to make a diversion in Roussillon. I do not send you the news we have from Monsieur,

the postmaster telling me that he sends it to Lord Sunderland. I beg you will make my excuses to the Queen and Prince, that I did not sooner send the inclosed letters. I am also to make the King of Sweden's excuse that his letter to the Queen is not in his own hand; the reason given me was, that the King could not write French; but the truth is, that his hand is so bad that her Majesty could not have read it.

I shall be with the army at Hull on Saturday, and shall leave Mr. Stepney here for some time, unless you think his presence necessary at the Hague; for the affairs in this country are in such disorder, that I fear the consequences.

EARL OF CARDIGAN* TO THE DUKE OF
MARLBOROUGH.

May 19, 1707.

My Lord,

I should think myself the most ungrateful man in the world if I should not acknowledge the great obligations I have to your Grace in making me the happiest man in the world, by being married last Thursday to my Lady Betty Bruce. I owe it entirely to your Grace's goodness in interesting yourself in that which has contributed so much to my satisfaction. I beg your Grace will accept of

* George Brudenell, third Earl of Cardigan, and Master of the buck-hounds to Queen Anne. He married the Lady Elizabeth Bruce, eldest daughter of Thomas, Earl of Ailesbury.

the enclosed favour; and be assured, that no man in the world wishes your Grace more success against your enemies, and the continuance of your glory, than your Grace's most obedient humble servant,

CARDIGAN.

My wife presents her service to your Grace.

LORD GODOLPHIN TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

May 22, 1707.

I omitted in my last to take notice to you that, if you should defer speaking to the States to assist in making up a body of ten thousand men, either for a descent, or for the succour of Spain or Portugal, as shall be found most proper, till you have any express from King Charles, I doubt it will be too late to get them in readiness by the time we propose for ours, and the season of the year may be too far spent to make use of them, as really it was last year, when my Lord Rivers was so long detained by contrary winds.

I am glad to find the States have shewn a readiness to hinder the negotiation of the billets de monnoye from Amsterdam to Flanders, without which the French could not pay their army there. But I am told the lucre of that traffic will make them find ways to evade the placard published by the States, and that nothing will hinder it effectually but a stop of the posts for three months; but I have little hopes this would go down with them.

The Duke of Newcastle is now come to desire Colonel Sutton may be his deputy governor at Hull, which being nearer his Grace, he says Sutton likes better, and that Mr. Whichcote might have Tynmouth. I told him I would acquaint you with what he desired, but that I believed you would think those sort of employments were most proper for such as had served in the army.

From the hint in your last letter, that you thought it likely King Charles might have a mind to come to Italy, there is a very particular instruction sent to Sir Cloudesley Shovel, of which Mr. Secretary said he would give you an account.

At the first Council called since the Union, the Queen added to her Council, the Duke of Queensbury, Duke of Montrose, Earl of Mar, Earl of Loudon, Earl of Seafield ; and at the same time left out, Duke of Bucks, Earl of Nottingham, Earl of Thanet, Earl of Rochester, Earl of Abingdon, Earl of Jersey, Lord Weymouth, Lord Ferrers, Lord Guernsey, Lord Grenville, Lord Gower, Sir Edward Seymour, Sir George Rook.

Some were of an opinion the Council must have been new sworn, but that was declined, and this was all that has been done about the matter. The Duke of Queensbury is very pressing to be of the Cabinet Council.

LORD GODOLPHIN TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

June 24, 1707.

* * * * *

I am glad to find, by the Duke of Wertemberg's letter, that the forcing of the lines of Holhoffen is not like to have any worse consequences, since the Court of Vienna would not in six months time send a General to the Rhine. One cannot help being the less concerned for any uneasiness of this kind to them, provided it does not leave the French at liberty to send any detachment from thence to Flanders, of which, however, I think we cannot be secure till we hear of the Duke of Savoy's march, which will soon oblige the French to turn their thoughts that way. In the meanwhile their superiority continues in Flanders. You may be sure I shall not press you for a detachment from your army, either for Spain, or for a descent.

I shall take care of your commands for Dr. Chetwood, and add no more to this letter but an excuse for its being already unreasonably long.

(Addition in the hand of the Duchess of Marlborough.)

Lord Treasurer has desired me to add to this letter, (which he forgot,) that he hopes you will do what you can to recover our prisoners lost in Spain, by the exchange of those that are now, by your favour, at their ease in France.

I remember, in Mr. Montgomery's last letter, he wrote something to you of the great desire 220 had to be in 85, which I cannot but wish may not

be so, for I think nobody should go there that is not in all respects what one would desire, unless there is a necessity of it ; and I have known several things of him I do not like. Besides that, he is so near relation to 31, and I believe he has been sufficiently gratified already for any service he has ever done. God send good news from you, my dearest life.

Monsieur Vryburgh writ to me to-day ; he goes to Holland, in three or four days, for six weeks.

MR. CRAGGS TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

London, July 22, 1707.

My Lord,

We are three mails in arrear from Flanders, which makes all our politics here in a perfect stagnation, for till the affair of Toulon is decided, our wise men are very cautious in speaking their minds. The accidents of this year have given a great many people the opportunity of expressing their zeal to the administration ; and I think the best and only friend is success, for no obligation can tie an ungrateful man. May God Almighty prosper your generous designs for the good of mankind, and grant you health and temper to bear the malice of ungenerous enemies, and ingratitude of false friends.

The only news that I can pretend to tell you is, that Mr. Boucher and Mr. Pauncefort have thrown the Right Hon. Lord Wharton out of the high stewardship of Malmesbury, after his Honour had

treated and threatened the town for ten days together, and at last gave them a farewell benediction, that as they had been an ungrateful perfidious corporation to him, so he would endeavour to extirpate them as such, and would never more be seen within their villainous town. They have chosen Mr. Younge, of about three hundred pounds a year, and one whom his lordship had particularly oppressed to the utmost of his power.

THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY TO THE DUKE OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Heathorp, July 26, 1707.

My Lord,

I return you many thanks for the honour of your letter, and the good news your Grace gives of the Duke of Savoy's being entered into Provence, with a design of taking Toulon. If that port could be destroyed, with the men-of-war that are usually laid up in it, it would be a great advantage to England. I have two new plans by me, which I procured the last time his Royal Highness entered into France, in hopes that then something of this nature might have been done ; for the place itself towards land was then, and I believe is still, of no great strength. I hope dispositions are more favourable now than they were then to the effecting of this great design, and that the vigour shewn now will make everybody forget how little was done then, and the cause of it.

I perceive your Grace is not satisfied, because you have no prospect of such vast success as you have had some other campaigns ; but such victories as Blenheim and Ramilies are not annual plants.

I lately made a visit to my Lady Westmoreland* at Whitton, and did not go to Windsor, because I know the appearance of people at Court who have formerly been in posts does always create discourse, as if one were aiming at something of the same nature. As I have no such design, I judged it best to give no new jealousy to any in places, or in expectation of them, which is no inconsiderable part of the nation. I understand some have since represented it as if I were dissatisfied, and had a mind to shew it by that absence. I am sure my behaviour, in everything that relates to her Majesty's interests, shall, in my small sphere, shew me very far from any such thought, and if going to Windsor on foot were necessary to shew my respect and duty to so great and good a Queen, I should do it most willingly.

Having not seen Blenheim since I waited on the Duchess of Marlborough there, about a month ago, I can give your Grace no fresh news, as from thence I came from Northamptonshire, but have heard it goes on very fast. Mine is above ground, and what

* Dorothy Brudenell, Countess of Westmoreland, widow of Charles Fane, Earl of Westmoreland, who died in 1691. She afterwards married Robert Constable, Viscount Dunbar, and died in 1739. She was aunt to the Duke of Shrewsbury, and the youngest daughter of Robert Brudenell, second Earl of Cardigan.

pleases me most in it is the hopes that the neighbourhood may sometimes afford me an opportunity of waiting on your Grace.

I have seen a letter from Mr. Irons, very full of acknowledgements for the post you have given him. The Duchess of Shrewsbury gives you her most humble service and best wishes for your success and safety. I do the same, and am, &c.

DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

Meldert, July 27th, 1707.

Being obliged to be abroad almost the whole day of the last post, I could not answer yours of the 6th as I ought.

You may be assured that I shall not send the letter to 56, (King of Sweden,) but as corrected and approved by yourself and friends, but by what I have from thence, I am in hopes there will be no occasion of writing; but if there should, I believe we must do it without acquainting 62; for it is certain that 100 (the Dutch) will never consent to have the preliminaries sent; for I am afraid they are of an opinion they will never be obtained of 43, (France,) however, I am of an opinion that 108 (England) must never depart from them.

You will see by my last letter to 199 (Mr. Harley) that I shall delay the answer to 116's (the States) letter, for, by what is written from Vienna of the behaviour of the Hungarians, I think even 116 (the States) will be of an opinion this is not

a proper time for the pressing 46 (the Emperor). You have done very well in sending the memorial of Portugal to Holland ; for by it you will gain time, and at last you will be answered with the impossibility of their helping, and their hopes of the Queen's generosity in helping the King of Portugal. Would it not be a good expedient to gain more time, as soon as you have the States' answer to the memorial, to send Lord Galway to 129, (Portugal,) by which you may amuse that court ; for, whatever expense you make in that country, I look upon it as money flung into the sea, for they have neither officers nor good inclinations, but by this method you may keep them in hopes till the next spring. I can't but think it extremely for the Queen's service, that you continue firm in the resolution of paying no more regiments in Catalonia than there may be English soldiers to complete ; and whatever Spaniards or other foreign troops England would be at the expense of, that ought to be by subsidy, and not regular pay, and there ought to be care taken that the clothing which are there upon the account of private regiments, should not be given to other people, for that expense at last will fall upon the Queen.

The count of Wratislau's letter, which I sent you by the last post, agrees extremely with the notion I have for the scheme for the next campaign, for should Toulon not be taken, the war must be continued, but if that should succeed, I should then

hope France would be forced to give such conditions as England should think reasonable. I do assure you, I am so weary of all this matter, that nothing can make me happy but being in quiet at Woodstock.

I received, last night, the inclosed letters from Prince Eugene and Sir Cloudesley Shovel. I am extremely glad to find they have resolved to attack Toulon; in the first place, if they succeed, it will be the greatest misfortune could have happened to France. The last two lines in Prince Eugene's letter should not be seen but to few: you must not be much alarmed at his expression, for it is his way to think everything difficult, till he comes to put them in execution, but then he acts with so much vigour, that he makes amends for all his desponding. Though he writes in this mannerto me, I am sure to the officers of the army his discourse is contrary. I would not stay for the post, but send this by Colonel Britton, so that her Majesty might have this good news as soon as possible. With my humble duty, I beg you will assure her of my hearty congratulations and prayers that she may ever be happy.

LORD CONINGSBY TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

Dublin, July 27, 1707.

The principles upon which the generality of the people of this country act, are so strange to the honesty and integrity of my Lord Lieutenant, that it

has been none of the least difficulties with those that knew them better than it was possible for my Lord to do, to prevail with him to guard himself against them; and the intrigue of one* who expected to fill his place, carried on by some of his emissaries sent over for that purpose, has been like to make this parliament very uneasy, but we have overcome both; and on Saturday the vote for the support of the Government was carried by so great a majority, and without a division, that I cannot but conclude from it, all here will end entirely to the satisfaction of her Majesty.

I wish your Grace as glorious a conclusion of this campaign as ever you yet had of any, and that you may return from finishing the war to enjoy the pleasure of a lasting peace, which, whenever it pleases God to bless us, will be under him chiefly owing to yourself.

LORD GODOLPHIN TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

April 23, O. S., 1708.

I writ to you yesterday by Mr. Darell, who goes over in the same packet with this; so it is likely you will receive both my letters at the same time. I have little to add in this, but that after I had sent him my own letter for you, the Queen sent me a letter for him to carry to you, which I hope he will deliver to you.

* Probably Lord Wharton.

To this moment we have not heard of the arrival of the troops at Ostend, though they must certainly have been there before this time. Lieutenant General Erle is not yet returned from reviewing the troops at Northampton, so I cannot yet give you any certain account in what condition they are like to be. He has chosen William Seymour for his Major General, who seems to be well pleased with it and very desirous to serve.

Mr. Boscawen * tells me his friend and countryman, my Lord Mohun, seems willing to part with his regiment, if you approve of it, and appoint the person with whom he should treat for it. Since he never will apply himself as he ought to do, I think upon all accounts he were better out of the army than in it.

Sir George Byng is come to town ; but has not yet had that countenance shown him, which either his past diligence, or the hopes of his future behaviour, would naturally lead him to expect ; those who have no credit with Mrs. Morley do him all the ill offices imaginable. Mr. Montgomery (Lord Godolphin) has taken some pains to change this temper and to reconcile them ; but I am not certain what will be the effect of it. This I am certain of, that if these prejudices are not to be cured, the advices they occasion will ruin the service and those that give them.

* Hugh Boscawen, Esq., afterwards created Viscount Falmouth. He was brother-in-law of Lord Godolphin, a staunch Whig, and an active member of Parliament. He was member for Cornwall.

In a word, we must hope you will do miracles abroad, and afterwards that those may produce yet greater miracles at home.

MR. BRYDGES TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

June 4th, 1708.

My Lord,

I am just returned from Hereford, where I thought it necessary to continue some days after my election was over, in order to confirm and fix that interest which, by the industry of my enemies, I found at my coming down to have been a little shaken. I did, indeed, meet with opposition. A countryman of mine, well known to your Grace, and who is sufficiently versed in the arts of undermining, had conceived hopes of bringing in another in my room ; but I defeated his designs by a greater majority than was ever known upon any poll in that place before ; and such an one as will render my election there for the future very quiet and easy. But, upon this occasion, I beg leave to own, with the deepest sense of respect and gratitude, that I reckoned it one of the most pleasing and happy accidents of my whole life, when I found myself so much the care of the two greatest men this kingdom has produced, as by their recommendation to be chosen in another place, though this pleasure is somewhat allayed by the fears I have of never being able to deserve or make returns for all those marks of goodness. There remains nothing now to com-

plete my wishes, but to see your Grace return full of health, and adorned with new trophies, and that I may at your feet express how much I am, my Lord, &c. &c.

LORD GODOLPHIN TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

June 13th, 1708.

The Count de Briançon tells me he had a letter from his master, in which he bids him tell me the affair at Toulon is easier than it was last year. You will easily imagine I was not backward in saying everything that I thought proper to encourage him to have it always in his view, if ever it were in his power, to make that attempt with success, and particularly that it would turn more to 58's (Duke of Savoy) honour and advantage to do it now than it would to have done it last year, when he had the assistance of 48 (Prince Eugene); but now it would be all owing to himself alone. This conversation ended with great appearance of satisfaction on both sides. But I am now going to give you an account of one this morning betwixt Mr. Montgomery (Lord Godolphin) and Mrs. Morley (the Queen) which ended with the greatest dissatisfaction possible to both. They have had of late many great contests, as I am told, upon the subject of 4's (Lord Halifax) brother, (Sir James Montagu,) but without any ground gained on either side. This day it held longer than ever. The particulars, as they have

been related to me, are both too tedious and unnecessary to trouble you with them.

In short, the obstinacy was unaccountable, and the battle might have lasted till midnight, if after the clock had struck three the Prince of Denmark had not thought fit to come in and look as if he thought it were dinner-time.

I hope your next will acquaint us with Prince Eugene's arrival, which will be very welcome news to me.

DUKE OF HAMILTON TO THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND.*

Wakefield, May 8, 1708.

My Lord,

I arrived here this morning by four o'clock; for the ways are so very bad, that the prisoners † were not able to make their journies as the routes were projected at first. They came to this place but yesterday, and got out from hence about nine o'clock.

I expected to have found them at Nottingham on Sunday, but could not learn where they were till last night that I arrived at Barnesley: and now I can tell you, that mighty pains have been taken to load the Whigs and the squadron with their being

* The following letters relate to the keenly contested elections of Scottish peers after the union. It was his interference in these elections which drew on the Earl of Sunderland the particular displeasure of the Queen; and to which there are several allusions in the foregoing Correspondence of the Duchess of Marlborough.

† On a threatened invasion in favour of the Pretender, several of the Scottish peers, who were suspected of favouring him, had been arrested, but had been allowed to give bail.

brought up. I find I shall have more difficulty in Scotland than I expected ; but that shall make me double my diligence. There were but three peers here, the Viscount Stormont,* Kilsyth,† and Lord Nairne,‡ Duke of Athol's brother. The first did not qualify himself before he came away ; but now I have persuaded him to do it, and, upon his arrival, he will apply to have liberty to do it, and will give me his proxy, and will come into our interest, though he was hitherto averse to qualify ; yet I can assure now he'll come close into the Queen's interest in the right way, so I beg your lordship may look upon him as one so resolved ; for he has allowed me to say so in his name, and has allowed me liberty to name such as may conduce for the common interest, and does not pretend to be of the sixteen himself ; but desires I may take care of some others, and leaves it in general to me to do as is concerted with other friends of your lordship's and mine.

My Lord Kilsyth did qualify, and in the right manner, for the county court was held by the Earl of Dalhousie§ in the castle of Edinburgh, so the

* David Murray, fifth Viscount Stormont, and father of the first Earl of Mansfield.

† William Livingston, third and last Viscount Kilsyth.

‡ Lord William Murray, fourth son of John, first Marquis of Athol, who succeeded to the title of his father-in-law, Lord Nairne, in 1683. He was afterwards attainted of high treason. He and his family were resolute Jacobites.

§ William Ramsay, fifth Earl of Dalhousie, Brigadier-General, and commander of the Scots Guards.

forms were all duly observed ; he's a man of honour and sense, and great application has been made to him, and all assurances of friendship given him by 120 (Lord Leven's) * and 106 (Duke of Queensbury's) friends ; but for all that I can depend upon him, though he has given his 161 (proxy) to 120 (Lord Leven). If he can be despatched to 156 (the election) he will be thoroughly with the 166, (Whigs,) and I will answer for him ; but he knows not how to come off his engagements any other way, but by saying, he being to be of the number himself, must be excused to alter what he has done ; but the best way to do that effectually, will be to despatch him and send him to us ; he being already qualified, takes himself to be in better circumstances for so doing, and is really a man of weight and merit with us, and one, I can answer, who will adhere firm to what he promises, though he is entirely my friend. I have had more difficulty with him, because of his being under those engagements which proceeded only from not knowing what was done by me, so what distinction is now shewed him will be considered as done by the 166 (Whigs). And it's necessary, as things stand at present, that 106 (Duke of Queensbury) be not thought to have the

* George, first Earl of Melville, who succeeded to the title of Earl of Leven by right of his wife, Lady Katherine Leslie, granddaughter of the great General of the Covenanters. Lord Melville had been a partizan of the unfortunate Monmouth, he fled to Holland, and was attainted, but returning with King William, was restored to his estates and title, and created an earl.

prevailing power, which they give out in 186 (Edinburgh,) and if you don't take a little care as to that, your friends will have a very difficult task ; for all the industry imaginable has been used to lay the load of calling up our people upon the Whigs, and their friends, which has helped to sour 152 (Scotland) more than I can express, and it's for that reason I shall find the difficulties I am to encounter.

As for Lord Nairne, the two I have been talking of are the only proper persons to deal with him ; I did all I could, but till he talks with his wife, who is now in London, he could come to no resolution. I fancy he will either not qualify himself, or if he does, he'll do what we desire ; but by 41 L., 31 A., 34 D., 53 Y., 50 N., 43 N., 42 M., 44 O., 47 R., 35 E., 104 (Lord Treasurer), has great influence there. 139 (Lord Marr*) is on the road, and is to meet the 45 (p), 47 (r), 39 (i), 48 (s), 44 (o), 43 (n), 35 (e), 81 (r), 82 (s), (prisoners), to influence them for the Duke of Queensbury.

I go from hence this night, and being now in a hurry, I hope you'll excuse the confusedness of this scribble. As I see the others you shall have an account of what passes. I am with faithful service and entire friendship, most humbly yours,

HAMILTON.

* John Erskine, eleventh Earl of Marr, Secretary of State for Scotland in 1706. He joined the Pretender in 1715, and was attainted.

I had almost forgot to tell you, that it will be necessary that Lord Stormont be immediately qualified in order to make him capable of assisting us the way and manner whereof you must direct, and communicate to Mason, my agent, who will obey your commands. If your lordship thinks fit, you may acquaint Lord Kilsyth with what I have written to your lordship about him ; for he's a man of honour, and you'll find him worth your consideration ; but I leave this, as I do all other things, to your own management. I have taken the liberty to write to my Lord Somers also ; and I hope you'll excuse my putting the inclosed to Mason under your cover. Forgive me putting you in mind of getting the Duke of Richmond's* proxy.

Weatherby, May 19.

I could get no further than this place last night, it being across the country and no horses to be got ; and this morning I have had the honour of a visit from my Lord Chief Baron, to whom I have talked as plainly as your lordship did. Everybody, I find, denies their accession to the Duke of Queensbury's new honours ; but yet it's done. It seems he must have more interest than all of you ; for I am told her Majesty herself was not fond of it, her treasurer did not approve of it, your lordship I am sure did not, and yet this honour must be crowded on his

* Charles Lennox, illegitimate son of Charles II. by the celebrated Duchess of Portsmouth.

Grace. I am told that he reports that he parted well with me, and that he had satisfied me ; I hope he'll make that more effectually true than he has already given, for I can never be so and he created a peer of Great Britain first, where my family is elective ; and now I am told I get this mortification because I am joined with the Whigs ; but to make the Duke of Queensbury yet more guilty to me, I am told it's yet in his power to stop his warrant, and let one for me be passed first. If my friends have a mind it should be so, I'll only answer for my own part, it would be the wisest thing the Duke of Queensbury could do for himself ; and if that should be your lordship's, and you should wish to have another of your friends in my place at this election, and I think your lordship might speak plainly to my Lord Treasurer, that since this step is made for the Duke of Queensbury, that it's hard this mortification should be given to my family. The Duke of Hamilton, my father, served the common interest at a time when the Duke of Queensbury did not ; and whatever our persons now are, the Duke of Queensbury's family would not have thought themselves injured to come some steps after mine. I pretend to no merit but my father's services ; I think a lasting injury should not be done to my family. I know by the articles of the union, it will give him no place ; but for all that, his being created a Duke while I am elective, does not sound right ; since there may be as much merit in keeping things right

that are done, as in the doing of them, which I will ever own I was not for, and yet maintain it right to preserve it now that it is done. I mean the union ; so that I am sure those who will favour me have enough to say, and I hope they shall find me worthy of it.

I am informed now, that the Duke of Queensbury gives out, that if he finds things to go to cross his expectations at Edinburgh, at the last he can compound with the squadron, he can *take them* one, and leave my worship in the lurch ; but that does not at all frighten me. I own to everybody I will assist the squadron, and that it is principally for their friends' sakes, the Whigs above ; and I make no bones of owning this, though I am told her Majesty's servants come down with great powers of all kinds to influence this election, and that marks of favour are only to be shewn to those who will be the Duke of Queensbury's servants and follow his measures. Now, since I am resolved to serve her Majesty as well as the Duke of Queensbury, and that it's only as to the method with relation to the persons ; I hope her Majesty shall be convinced before the end of the next session, those I endeavour and wish to serve, will be as capable as any of the Duke of Queensbury's list for promotion.

My lord, I hope you'll pardon all this ; but from the abundance of the heart the mouth speaks, and I am ever unalterably yours.

If you are able to read this I am very lucky ; for it's written in such haste, I can hardly do it myself.

THE EARL OF ORKNEY TO THE EARL OF
SUNDERLAND.

Berwick, May 21, 1708.

I have had the misfortune to miss all the prisoners but the last number, where were Earl Mareschal,* Murray,† Belhaven,‡ and St. Clair. || I found them extremely surprised at my brother's proceedings, for they expected he would have joined the other people, which made Mareschal give his proxy to the Earl of Leven. Belhaven has qualified, but has not disposed of his. St. Clair never has qualified, nor Earl Murray, but the last it is little matter for ; if he did, he would be wrong. For Mareschal, he was extremely vexed at what he had done, but told me he did not know how to help it; that he would write to my Lord Leven to insert me in his list. I told him that would signify nothing, he must recall his proxy, and give it to my brother Hamilton ; and I am hopeful he will do it when he meets my brother. For my Lord St. Clair, I find him very right, but I doubt he can't be up in time to qualify, for, by

* William Keith, ninth Earl Marischal.

† Charles Stewart, fifth Earl of Moray.

‡ Sir John Hamilton, third Baron Belhaven, a zealous opponent of the Union.

|| Henry, eighth Baron Sinclair, a zealous adherent to the House of Stuart.

his route, it will be the 16th of June before they be at London.

I find they are all mighty surprised at the favour that is shewn to Queensbury and the other party, and particularly the new title he has got.

My Lord, I can assure your Lordship, except there be something done to shew some countenance towards us, I do assure you I am afraid we shall make but a very bad figure; and, by what I can learn, nothing would be of more use than the laying aside the Registrar who is to make the returns, and who is capable of playing us twenty tricks that can't be remedied afterwards. This is a point that I hope, my Lord, you will think it worth your while to labour to effect; and since so great a favour has been shown to the Duke of Dover, pray, my Lord, let us have a fling at his minion: it is of the last consequence. I do think I may answer for my brother Hamilton doing what possibly can be done; for I think, when I left him, he was thoroughly convinced; and be assured, my Lord, we shall all labour heartily, but we can't make brick without straw. I must say the bringing up these men prisoners has been of very ill consequence, for they could have served us much in both the elections of peers and commons; and if it were possible to hasten them up, I believe Somerset and St. Clair would qualify themselves.

I hear my Lord Irwin* lives near York, and that

* Edward Ingram, fourth Viscount Irvine.

he was very busy about the county election. I wish, my Lord, you could inquire how he is inclined, and see if his proxy is to be had. Forgive, my Lord, the length of my letter, and believe me, with great truth and respect, &c. &c.

THE DUKE OF HAMILTON TO THE EARL OF
SUNDERLAND.

Hollyrood House, May 22, 1708.

My Lord,

I arrived here this night, but it's now so late, that I am afraid I shall hardly have time, by this post, to inform you of all that I have done since my last. I met the second caravan of prisoners at Boroughbridge, but there was none amongst that number that could qualify, except the Viscount of Kenmure;* and finding no disposition in him, I did not press it the next day. I found at Morpeth the third set, where I found the Earl of Mareschal, the Earl of Murray, the Lord St. Clair, and the Lord Belhaven. I can't express the pains that have been taken amongst those Lords to obtain their proxies. The Earl of Mareschal and Lord Belhaven only had qualified themselves, and the first had given his proxy to the Earl of Leven; but I have prevailed upon him to recall it, and he has given me his proxy anew, and done it in the form that was desired.

* William, sixth Viscount Kenmure, who, having joined in the Rebellion, was executed on Tower Hill, in 1716.

They have been all most grossly imposed upon, and have had a thousand lies told them, so that I assure you we have much more difficulty here than I expected ; but I have had all the success I could expect from those I was to get to recall what they had done. The Duke of Queensbury has had the interest to keep those here he inclined, and to get others at liberty.

So I entreat your Lordship may use all possible means, first to order those who are upon the road to make more haste to town, and that they rest only on the Sundays, and may be ordered to make as long journeys as the marching of the troops will allow of, for you can't imagine the good it would do to us here, that after their examinations they were returned. Those that arrive first may certainly be here in time ; that's, the Viscount of Stormont and Kilsyth. The first has promised to me to qualify himself and send me his proxy, as I told your Lordship in my last, and the other will recall his. And of the last set that I met at Morpeth, the Earl of Mareschal has recalled his. Lord St. Clair will qualify himself as soon as you'll give him an opportunity, and send his proxy ; and 128 (Lord Belhaven) will come into our measures entirely ; and I can answer fully for him, he'll make his application to your Lordship as soon as he arrives. All of them beg not to be sent to the Tower, and I believe your Lordship will find it much easier for you to keep them in messengers' hands, for by that

means they are of easier access ; and I know, if they should be sent to the Tower, it would anger them so much that they might go back of what they now intend to do.

The Countess of Murray was very earnest with me to write to your Lordship in favour of the Earl, her husband. I know he'll not qualify himself ; he has never taken any oath since the Revolution, but will give what bail can be required. I have also got another Lord, who lives near Morpeth, the Lord Rutherford, to qualify, and he will give his proxy. I entreat your Lordship would think with your friends, and get Lord Irvine's, that it may be sent down, for we shall need all the assistance can be given us. If 123 (Lord Regent) could be removed, it would be of the last importance,—it's worth your consideration, for 38 H., 35 R., 42 M., 31 A., 40 R., 69 E., 47 R., 83 T., 72 H., 35 E., 47 R., 49 T., 50 N., 81 R., 77 N., 82 S., 78 O., 70 F., 156 and 157 (election of peers).

Since my arrival I have helped Mr. Cockburn's election, which is to be on Tuesday next. I long to hear how the elections go with you. I hope your Lordship will pardon this free way of writing, and do me the favour to let me know if my letters came safe. I spoke to Mr. Rodam, the postmaster at Berwick, as I passed, and told him he would have orders from above to take special care of what letters I should send for your Lordship ; so I hope you won't forget to give your orders for that end by

the next post. I shall let you know how I find matters here. I am with perfect friendship and obedience, &c.

I beg pardon for the liberty I take in sending the inclosed for Mason, with one in it to my wife, which I hope you'll allow of.

DE FOE TO THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

May 26, 1708.

My Lord,

I have endeavoured to pay the debt of correspondence to your Lordship by the method your Lordship directed, viz., by Mr. Shute; but have not the favour of a line from him to signify the receipt of it, which makes me fear it is not come to his hand.

Yet I could not satisfy myself with neglecting my duty to your Lordship on so weak an excuse, and therefore resolved to write directly to your Lordship: and on this head I wrote your Lordship the enclosed.

Now, you will pardon my weakness, my Lord, in this. Were I keeping a foul and false correspondence between this port and England, or serving two masters, which would in effect be betraying one, I should want to engage either side to secrecy; but, my Lord, my strait is of another kind, and I find no remedy for it but in an open, candid, and honest

stating the case to your Lordship, and depending on your Lordship's gracious care for me, of which I have had sufficient testimony.

I have, since my coming hither, from time to time given my Lord Treasurer an account of affairs here, in such a manner as I persuade myself shall be exact as to truth of fact, useful to his Lordship, and for the good and advantage even of this country too ; and I have the honour and satisfaction of his Lordship's approving my thoughts on those things.

I have no reason to doubt, but his Lordship finding me faithful and capable, will, as he shall think I merit, consider either my services or circumstances, and I leave that entirely to God and his Lordship's goodness.

But when I write to your Lordship as by the enclosed, and solicit your Lordship not to communicate the secret of my writing to your Lordship, which looks as if something clandestine was acting, a thing which in all my life, I thank God, I have abhorred, it has shocked me, sending it without this explanation, and that has kept me from forwarding it for some days.

I doubt not but my Lord Treasurer may have communicated to your Lordship what I have wrote, and I know your Lordship and my Lord Treasurer are in one interest, and both entirely in the interest of England, the same interest of truth, liberty, and peace, which all good men love, and equally honour

your Lordships for, and therefore all my caution in this case, (shall I acknowledge it?) has been my own interest, a thing till now, my Lord, I confess I never pursued, and my distress has been here. I hope your Lordship will not let it be said I speak it with more ingenuity than discretion. That my Lord Treasurer, supposing your Lordship supports me, should decline, what otherwise his Lordship may design to do for me, or your Lordship supposing my Lord Treasurer, &c. *vice versa*, I need say no more, but begging your Lordship's pardon, I venture the enclosed, and laying myself at your Lordship's feet, recommend me only for so much kindness, in this case, as your Lordship shall think I merit. I have but one humble petition to close this matter with, that if it be acceptable to your Lordship that I should continue to represent the affairs of this county to your Lordship, in the best manner I can, your Lordship will be pleased, either by a servant, if *not doing me the honour of a line from your Lordship*, directed to Robert Davis at the post-house in Edinburgh, to signify in two words the receipt of this, and what else your Lordship pleases to command.

DE FOE.

P. S. I have some other things of consequence to communicate to your Lordship after I have the honour to know that this comes safe to your Lordship's hand.

THE DUKE OF HAMILTON TO THE EARL OF
SUNDERLAND.

Hollyrood House, May 27, 1708.

My Lord,

I was in hopes to have heard by this time that my letter from Wakefield and Weatherby had reached your hands. 148 (Mr. Cockburn has) carried his election, and I have rendered 147 (Mr. Bayly's) perfectly easy; it will be over to-morrow. 139 (Lord Mar) and 108 (Lord Loudon)* are both here and very busy: they have great advantages, for all the smiles and power is lodged with them, and 107 (Lord Seafeld).† So that it's very hard to make brick without straw. 109 (Duke of Roxburgh) and 110 (Duke of Montrose) are not yet in town. Believe me, it imports you to procure some distinguishing marks to your friends here, for all depends now upon it, if some of the prisoners were just returned here in time before the elections, it would do a vast deal of good. Those here think we have no power to help them, and the others tell them they can and will, which makes it very difficult for us. 117 (Lord Islay) has absolutely refused us. 106 (Duke of Queensbury's) friends stuck at nothing, and commit all the irregularities in the elections that's possible. There would be no end to portrait all the particulars;

* Hugh Campbell, third Earl of Loudoun, a trusty adherent to King William.

† James Ogilvie, third Earl of Seafeld.

however they don't go all to their minds. 122 (Lord Annandale's) friend has carried in that district, where the Duke of Queenbury's interest lies, and there will be many double returns. I shall give your Lordship no further trouble at present, but assure you that I am with great respect, &c.

DUKE OF HAMILTON TO THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

Hollyrood House, May 29, 1708.

My Lord,

I wrote to your Lordship what is here enclosed ; but it came not in time for the last post, so I send it now. 113 (Lord Marchmont) arrived here this morning, as the Duke of Montrose did this night. 147 (Mr. Bayly) has carried his election without the struggle he apprehended ; and I am doing what I can to make 149 (Mr. Haddon) have the same success. We would do better if we had more help from above. I hear 33 (C), 31 (a), 47 (r), 42 (m), 65 (a), 81 (r), 49 (t), 38 (h), 35 (e), 43 (n), were to be 38 (h), 35 (e), 69 (e), 81 (r), which will do a great deal of hurt to our 161 (proxies). 107 (Lord Seafield) says everywhere that 161 (proxies) can't be 47 (r), 69 (e), 67 (c), 31 (a), 41 (l), 69 (e), 68 (d) ; but by being 45 (p), 81 (r), 35 (e), 40 (s), 69 (e), 77 (n), 83 (t). So you may see the necessity of those I have mentioned, being 38 (h), 35 (e), 69 (e), 47 (r). We hear nothing of 114 (Lord Sutherland). You'll hear from the Duke of Montrose, so I won't trouble you with repetitions ; but the want of our

proxies is unaccountable. 107 (Lord Seafeld), 139 (Lord Mar), and 106 (Lord Loudon), brag they can be well with 166 (the Whigs) when they please; and if things should come to the worst, which they are very apprehensive of, they hope by a 42 (m), 39 (i), 52 (x), 49 (t), 75 (l), 39 (i), 48 (s), 83 (t), 49 (t), 44 (o), 68 (d), 69 (e), 50 (v), 35 (i), 34 (d), us, in which they will be mistaken. Pray mind the Duke of Richmond and Lord Irwin, and 69 (e), 52 (x), 45 (p), 81 (r), 35 (e), 48 (s), must come 51 (w), 39 (i), 88 (t), 72 (h), them. I know your Lordship will hear from others, so I shall add no more, but that I am, with entire respect, yours,

H.

DUKE OF ROXBURGHE TO THE EARL OF
SUNDERLAND.

May, 1708.

My Lord,

I am so tired for want of victuals I can only tell your Lordship our election, I think, is much better than I expected. I send your Lordship here enclosed the list* of those returned; but I believe when the House of Lords consider the protests that were

* *Enclosure*—Hamilton 59 (arrested as suspected, and his two brothers also)—Montrose 48.—Roxburghe 49.—Crawford 49.—Rothes 43.—Orkeney 55 (favourable to Lord Sunderland's party).—Lothian 50 (rejected by the House of Lords, and Marquis of Anandale admitted).—Mar 55 (had the Duke of Marlborough's proxy).—Lowdown 50.—Leaven 53 (hostile to the Duke of Hamilton).—Seafeld 51.—Roseberry 58.—Glasgow 51.—Islay 54.—Wemys 52.—Northesk 56.

made, they will not find the return right; at least, they will have very much ground upon the protests to reject some of those returned and admit others. The messenger is despatched in great haste, that your Lordship may have the first account of this matter, and I am now writing at the clerk's board at two o'clock of the morning; but it is impossible to give your Lordship any further account of this affair just now, for to wait for an extract of the minutes would be too long. Besides your Lordship will have time enough before the Parliament meets to consider them. I hope your Lordship will believe me sensible of all your favours, and that there is none more sincerely yours, &c. &c.

ROXBURGHE.

I must say it was a lucky thing my Lord and Lady Orkney came hither; but your Lordship shall know more of this when I have the honour to wait on you. I must add likewise, it was well my Lords Aberdeen and Saltoun were not got out, for my Lord Leven had fixed them both; but we have protested against them, because the sheriff could not qualify them in the castle, it being a constabulary by itself. I must recommend my Lord Belhaven to your Lordship's favour, who has resisted a great many offers to-day; and I believe nothing shall be neglected that may prove what threatening and promises have been made on this occasion.

THE DUKE OF HAMILTON TO THE EARL OF
SUNDERLAND.

Hollyrood House, June 1, 1708.

My Lord,

I had the honour of yours of the 27th yesterday, and as soon as it came to my hands, I called a meeting of our friends, and communicated it to them, the result of which was, that all of us unanimously agreed that one should be immediately despatched with a full account of our circumstances here, and I am sure your Lordship will be convinced we could not make a better choice than the bearer, Mr. Cockburn, as being known to all our friends above, and entirely trusted by all here, so I shall not need to trouble your Lordship with a long letter, having such a bearer as this is. Only I must acquaint your Lordship, that we meet daily with great difficulties, and yet I may say I am far from desponding; on the contrary, by way of our talking, we have given a good deal of uneasiness to our opposers already; and since your Lordship assures us that your strength in the House of Commons is by this election increased 70, I shall never think but such an addition to the majority you had will create a most respectful attention to what's desired by you—but we were very much surprised here, when the other day 139 (Lord Mar) told in public, that by the preceding post he had received the 102 (Duke of Marlborough's) 161 (proxy) which was

told on purpose, that by that it might be known how 163 (the Court) would declare. Now your Lordship may judge of the importance of this, as well as we, and of the consequences that must attend it, and therefore you must both take your own measures and fortify us with what you can, for by this you may see it is a public declaration of inclinations, though I shall never think this had been done if the majority of 70 had been known before it was executed. But it is to no purpose to look backward; let the lucky circumstance of such a majority vigorously explain new thoughts, and before it is too late let what is possible be done towards retrieving it. I am persuaded all the noble persons who write by this bearer will enforce it to your Lordship with better reasons than I can, the importance of getting those prisoners who arrive first despatched back to us with the utmost diligence, the Viscount Stormont and Kilsyth, which would be the most effectual way of recalling other proxies; and that it were known that by your Lordship and your friends' means above, and those of your friends' endeavours here, this were obtained, would create a credit which is absolutely requisite for the good of the main interest. For the Duke of Queensbury and his partisans have with all the industry imaginable laid so much load on 166 (the Whigs) above, and particularly on the 48 (s), 46 (q), 51 (u), 31 (a), 68 (d), 47 (r), 44 (o), 43 (n) here, that something of real power must be shown

both to reconcile and to give credit, especially since every moment some new mask starts out showing the power of our adversaries. And if we had but a little to counterbalance them, I assure your Lordship we could make successful use of it, for it would carry our election of the 157 (Peers). Undoubtedly 118 (Lord Ewell's) liberation would be an act of humanity, his condition requires it so much, and the liberation of those prisoners who are here upon bail would get us both their votes and reputation that we were in a condition to serve our friends, which would get you many essential ones here, which might be of effectual use to the common good. I will not enlarge on this, but leave it to the consideration of such wise judges as your Lordship and your friends with you. The bearer has memorandums of things I don't here trouble your Lordship with repetitions of, but I am sure you will see that something is necessary to be done, and you will think it certainly requisite to exert yourselves on this occasion, for it's rivetting all the erring this 156 (election) at this time.

And now, my Lord, you will be pleased to send expresses, if you have anything to say to us here, for after this, by the ordinary post, it will come too late to have any returns from hence before the 17th, so I shall give your Lordship no further trouble at present, but continue, with perfect respect and friendship, entirely yours.

H.

THE DUKE OF HAMILTON TO THE EARL OF
SUNDERLAND.

Hollyrood House, June 12, 1708.

My Lord,

I had the favour of your Lordship's of the 7th upon the 11th, early in the morning: it puts a new life amongst us, and what came by that express has given a mighty turn to things here, so that I have good hopes we shall succeed, which, if we do, is entirely due to the spirit you have sent amongst us. You may believe it not easy to struggle against what we have here at present opposing us, 163 (the Court) in general, the 100 (Queen's), 102 (D. of M.), 104 (Ld. Tr.), 43 (n), 31 (a), 42 (m), 35 (e), 48 (s), used on all occasions. 106 has advanced such things of 134, that 105 (Duke of Hamilton) has assured 106 that he will afford him an opportunity of justifying himself. This is a mighty busy time with us, so it is impossible I can write anything at length as I ought to do, but I hope you will excuse it. There are such violations and encroachments on our constitution as never were attempted here before; to make votes in the county of Lanark, they have been endeavouring the bringing in of eleven new barons, several of them inferior servants or dragoons in Lord Carmichael's regiment, who were to be purchasers of lands they knew nothing of, nor had paid nothing for, but their names used even without the knowledge of some of them,

and if this trick had taken effect, it was redeemable for less than twenty shillings, and the freeholds to be re-delivered after the elections are over. But this is too long a story to trouble your Lordship with now ; but with a good deal of difficulty I got nine of those signatures delayed one day from passing in the Exchequer, which is no small point, thereby they can't come in time to the election of the shire of Lanark, where my brother, Lord Archibald, stands as a candidate.

139 (Lord Mar) is to the highest degree lofty, and pretends to mighty 36 (f), 69 (a), 50 (v), 44 (o), 47 (r). You see 118's discharge was ordered some time ago by 146 (Mr. Boyle) ; in short, all appearances are made that can give a show of power.

I am glad to hear from Mr. Cockburn, that we may expect Viscount Kilsyth before the 17th ; it will be of the last importance that he come in time, but still we have no account of the Earl of Sutherland's arrival, nor of the Duke of Len. I have had application made to me this night to intreat your favour to the Laird of Kier. I shall be able in some time to inform your Lordship of his circumstance, but in the meantime I hope you will give orders he be well used in the prison. Lord Stormont and his son has wrote two letters to this place, giving an account of the favourable usage the prisoners have met with, which has done us a great deal of good, and owns their obligation to your Lordship and your friends

in a most extraordinary manner. I am ever, with entire friendship and respect, most faithfully yours.
H.

THE DUKE OF HAMILTON TO THE EARL OF
SUNDERLAND.

Hollyrood House, June 17, 1708.

My Lord,

This is to give your Lordship an account of the election which has passed, and there never was such doings, for the Duke of Dover pretended to elect, though he is a Peer created since the Union. I made a protest against it, which is lodged in the hands of the clerks ; there were a hundred of absurdities, but we have taken many protestations which will appear before your Lordships. It were endless to repeat all that has been done in relation to the informalities ; amongst other things they admitted of the Lord Forrester's proxy, though I and two more of his guardians produced an extract from the register of baptisms of his not being of age, and by this single vote, several of our members were prevented from being returned ; but I hope when our protests come to be considered by the Lords, we shall have several other members returned. I write this at the clerk's table, so I hope your Lordship will excuse the confusion of this relation, but in a day or two you shall have a particular account. I send your Lordship also a list here inclosed, but such doing I never saw, and the methods most irregular.

My brother, Lord Archibald, carried his election in the shire of Clydesdale, after all the malicious unfair dealing that ever was in any country, and it only served to show malice without interest, for the Lord Carmichael had not above eight good votes to 36. Pardon the scribble, and believe me with great respect, your Lordship's most humble servant,

HAMILTON.

THE EARL OF MAR TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

Edinburgh, June 18, 1708.

My Lord,

Yesterday being our day of battle here, I thought myself obliged to give your Grace an account of it. I send inclosed a list of the sixteen peers who were chosen, with the number of votes each of them had. There is also a list of those I had the honour to vote for as proxy for your Grace; though we have the greatest part, yet I am sorry more of them did not carry, and particularly my Lord Stair. But there has been such influence used against us by great folks at London, that a great many of our old friends, and who are in the Queen's service, were frightened from us, so that it is a wonder we carried so many. By the small number of votes those had who were in opposition to us last year, your Grace may judge how little interest they would have had in this affair had it not been for this odd conjunction, which has been strenuously and pretty effectually made against us. By the methods that have been

taken against us, the peers who were in the troops were mostly against us, and I believe some of them thought it would be acceptable service ; but had but one of them who joined against us done otherwise, the two Dukes who were of the last Parliament had been left out, and two of our friends brought in their place.

I will not trouble your Grace with any more of the particulars ; but had we got but half as much assistance as those against us had, our whole list would have been carried ; and there would not have been a peer chosen but would have concurred heartily with the Queen's servants in supporting what her Majesty thought for her service. I shall be very glad that all those who are chosen may do so, but the other way the Queen would have been sure of it.

I have written fully to my Lord Stair, and if your Grace have time from your weightier affairs, and care for it, you may have the particulars from him.

The bearer is one Mr. Cunningham,* a cousin of mine, who is now chosen a member of Parliament. He is gone to serve this campaign under your Grace, though he has no post in the army. I hope your Grace will forgive me for presuming to recommend him to your favour. If I did not know him to be a pretty fellow, I should be far from doing it.

* Possibly the Historian.

Earl of Mar's list as proxy for Lord Aymouth.

June 17, 1708.

Marquis of Lothian, Earl of Mar,* Earl of Morton, Earl of Loudon, Earl of Wemys, Earl of Leven, Earl of Northesk, Earl of Orkney, Earl of Seafield, *Earl of Stair, Earl of Roseberry, Earl of Glasgow, Earl of Islay, *Viscount Dupplin, *Lord Blantyre, *Lord Balmenus.

THE DUKE OF HAMILTON TO THE EARL OF
SUNDERLAND.

June 28, 1708.

My Lord,

Were it not for men of your worth and honour, the wicked world would go unpunished, and the oppressed unrelieved ; and what is much worse, her Majesty's enemies would grow strong from the encouragement they met with from those employed by her Majesty, for whom I have so great a deference, that I think it my duty to acquaint your Lordship what happened here on Friday last.

Three of my servants finding the door open at Gerard's Bromley, went in and took possession for the Duke of Hamilton ; and after they had been some time in the house, they let in five more to keep the possession they had taken.

The people in the house, which were a great number, and had a great many arms, came upon them and beat them, and rung a great bell on the top of the house, and in a very little time above two hundred Papists were gathered to their assistance,

and bound and took my servants prisoners, after they had broken open a door or two to come at them, which they had locked in my Lord's name, and shot at them through the door before they broke it. When Mr. Justice Broughton came to them, he told them he would stand by them, and if they had not put us out of possession, he would have raised the country to have done it. Upon the road he met some tenants that were coming to meet me, and some two or so had pistols, which he took from them, and to those that had only sticks he did the same, and sent them all to close prison ; that when I sent to know whether they had any meat and drink, the servant I sent was denied access ; and when I came to the place myself, one of the rabble, a new converted Papist that he had armed with a gun, held it up at me, and the rest beat two of my footmen and sadly wounded one of their heads.

After this he would not have my witnesses examined, but examined Mr. Fleetwood's, and bound mine to their good behaviour to Mr. Fleetwood and four or five more Papists that are in Gerard's Bromley, upon forfeiture of a hundred pounds each man. Upon which I desired their witnesses might take the oaths. He refused me. Several of these people he countenances have said they'll shoot the Duke of Hamilton, and his own servants are some of the number, all of which he sent to assist them to turn our possessors out of Gerard's Bromley. Now

if such a rabble can be raised in an hour or two's time of armed Papists to the assistance of Papists, and the country disarmed by the Justices in favour of such an insurrection, I don't see how the Queen or government can be safe ; or if such Justices are suffered to continue, who can live under their oppression ?

I know your Lordship to be such a discountenancer of these kind of things, that I thought nobody so fit to apply to, besides the great post you are so deservedly placed in.

I have told your Lordship nothing but what I can have declared upon oath by more than twenty people.

I am glad I have undergone the insult and terror, since I hope it will be a means to put her Majesty in mind to suppress her enemies ; so I desire your Lordship will acquaint her Majesty of what I have troubled you with, for which I beg ten thousand pardons.

I should say much more to excuse myself, but really I am not able to write any longer ; for I have not enjoyed a moment's health since I suffered those terrible frights the usage I got occasioned.

LORD GODOLPHIN TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

Windsor, July 6-17, 1708.

It is not easy to express to you the joy we had here yesterday upon my Lord Stair's* arrival. You

* Lord Stair brought over the intelligence of the battle of Oudenarde.

must endeavour to conceive it by your own satisfaction at Oudenarde, which could not be greater than ours upon this happy occasion. The Queen will order a public thanksgiving as soon as possible ; but it will require near two months to give the necessary notice over England and Scotland.

My Lord Stair's pretensions are very just and reasonable ; but the Queen is under such difficulties in that matter, by the resolution openly declared already of contesting the Duke of Queensbury's admission in the House of Lords, till it be seen what success that will have, I have endeavoured to satisfy my Lord Stair that it would not be advisable for himself, nor for the Queen, to press it at this time, further than the assurance of her Majesty's favourable intentions, which she was very ready to give him.

You may do me the right to observe that I never trouble you with stories from hence, being sensible I ought not to make you uneasy, upon whom all our hopes and safeties depend. But since you required an account of the noise about your brother George and Mr. Walpole, I cannot but think he was very much to blame in that whole affair from the beginning to the end ; but nobody is able to give so exact an account of the particulars as Mr. Craggs, who was himself a witness to the most material part of it. I must needs add, upon this occasion, that your brother does certainly contribute very much to keep up both in the Prince and in the Queen the

natural, but very inconvenient averseness they have to the Whigs in general, and to Sir George Byng in particular, though Mr. Montgomery took all imaginable pains to reconcile them, and to give promises and assurances to each other ; and nothing is more certain than that the general dislike of your brother in that station is stronger than ever, and much harder to be supported ; but nothing less than your express command should have made me say so much to you upon so disagreeable a subject.

I make no doubt but you will judge best yourself how to prosecute the victory you have gained with most advantage ; but if, as my Lord Stair hinted to me, you follow your first thoughts of going to Lisle, I hope you may be able to make the siege of Dunkirk before the end of the year, even though it should be late, the rains I should think, would not do much harm among those sand hills, and we could help you by sea, with all manner of provisions for the army. Forgive this hint from me, since nothing can contribute so much to give us a quiet winter as this would do ; the attempt upon Scotland having very much unsettled our people's minds ; and that part of the kingdom is still in all the ferment and discontent imaginable.

We reckon here that it will not be possible for the enemy to stay in the Pays de Bas ; and, consequently, we hope Ghent and Bruges must fall to you again without your losing any time about them. If the Elector of Hanover and the Duke of Savoy

would now think fit to exert themselves upon the encouragement of this success, I don't see how it would be possible for the King of France to weather even this present campaign. But perhaps they are not so desirous of a speedy end of this war as some of their neighbours. But I will not trouble you with more of my reflections, till I know more certainly what measures you intend to take for the rest of this campaign, and where the enemy propose to make their new stand.

LORD HERVEY TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.*

Ickworth, July 17, 1708.

My Lord,

The signal services your Grace so frequently repeats for the peace and prosperity of your country, and the common cause, (whereof your Grace is not only the present tutelary genius, but your glorious character and noble actions will even do everlasting honour to the age we live in,) will not suffer those who are so zealously interested in whatever concerns your Grace or them as myself, to sit silent at a time when they happen in such eminent instances as the late battle and victory near Oudenarde, whereby your Grace has sufficiently convinced the French King, that his *derniere* resource in a General, the Duke of Vendome, can no more reassure the courage of his beaten troops against those led by your

* "Congratulates him on the victory of Oudenarde—a most curious letter."—*Coxe*.

Grace's conduct, than when they fought under the command of his other marshals, Tallard, Marsin, or Villeroy.

Success so close upon thy troops does wait
As if thou first hadst conquered fickle fate ;
Since fortune, for thy righteous cause and thee,
Seems t' have forgot her lov'd inconstancy.

I know no farther refuge he has left him, unless it be to play a second Pucelle D'Orleans upon you. But how vain a project must that prove, since we all know you have vanquished that sex as universally by the excellencies of your person, as you have ours by the ascendancy of your parts.

Veux tu des talens pour la Cour ?
Ils egalent ceux de la guerre ;
Faut il du merite en amour ?
Personne n'est plus galant sur la terre.

Since then neither sex can longer oppose you, we hope the time is now come, que votre grandeur / acheverez d'enchaîner le demon qui s'oppose à la paix de l'univers ; which must be recorded to posterity, as the greatest achievement that was ever brought to pass in any age by the merit of one man.

'Tis you the length of scattered time contract,
And in few years the work of ages act
Unparalleled in story is the change ;
But nothing where such virtue works is strange.

That the stem may still continue in such skilful hands, which were the only ones capable of preventing the shipwreck which once so imminently threatened not only this state, but all Europe, is the sincere desire of your Grace's, &c. &c.

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MR. ST. JOHN TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

London, July 6-17, 1708.

My Lord,

Your Grace will give me leave to express in this manner a joy which is too great and too sincere to be silent.

I most heartily congratulate this new addition to all the other glories of your life, which will be crowned, I make no doubt, by entirely reducing that power against which we have so long contended, and by giving to your own country, and to all Europe, that peace and security which no arm but yours could procure for them.

The death of a grandfather brought me to this place, from whence I am preparing to return again to the country, in the midst of which retreat I shall inviolably preserve in my heart that gratitude for all your favours, that zeal for your service, and that true unaffected love for your person, which I have never knowingly departed from.

I am, with the greatest respect, my Lord, &c.

Remark on the foregoing letter, by the Duchess of Marlborough, in her own hand,—“ I need not say anything of Mr. St. John’s behaviour to the Duke of Marlborough when he got into power by Lady Abigail ; but ’tis certain that the Duke of Marlborough never was so kind to any man as to him ; and I have heard my Lord Godolphin say, that he never had anything to reproach himself of, in the whole time that he served the Queen, but in complying with the Duke of Marlborough in doing unreasonable things, in point of money, for Mr. St. John, at the Duke of Marlborough’s request.”

LORD GODOLPHIN TO THE DUKE OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Windsor, July 30 Aug. 10, 1708.

Ever since my last, the wind continues so contrary and so strong, that we cannot yet have the satisfaction of hearing from you, which is the more unlucky at this time, when we hoped for the return of the messenger despatched from hence the 18th, at night, with notice of the day upon which our fleet was designed to be upon the coast of France, wind and weather permitting. But to-morrow's that day, and the wind and weather are now very bad, so God knows whether we shall be able to perform our intentions, though the fleet arrived in the Downs on the 28th, in order to it; but unless your people are in a condition to assist them, even at their landing, by the letters I have seen from Mr. Erle, which are not very sanguine, I do not expect any great advantage from what they will do.

Mr. Secretary Boyle will have informed you of the misfortune which happened to the Moscovite ambassador. I am afraid it will have very ill consequences to our merchants and trade in those parts, besides that it is disagreeable enough that a government which makes so considerable a figure in the world, should not be able to preserve foreign ambassadors from being insulted with barbarity.

I have nothing else to trouble you with by this

post, but that my Lord Peterborough is come hither this morning, with instructions to wait upon the Queen, for the first time since his return to England. However, I think the visit not so extraordinary as one she had last week from my Lord Haversham. I could not help observing to Mrs. Morley upon it, that it was not hard to make a judgment of what was like to happen next winter, when people of his behaviour meet with encouragement to come to Court.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO LORD
GODOLPHIN.

Dec. 31, 1708.

I sent yesterday an express by Ostend to acquaint her Majesty that the troops of Ghent were to march out on Wednesday, if not relieved before. This place will secure the conquest of Lille, and give us great advantages for the next campaign.

The Dutch, thinking it for the service, as really it is, to keep the Emperor's troops in this country, have assured the Prince of Savoy that they will be willing to give their part for enabling them to subsist. I beg her Majesty will approve of my assuring, that whatever the Dutch will allow, England may do the same; for should these troops return for Germany, we should not have them till the month of July at soonest. I have this morning sent a trumpet with letters to the Governor and town of Bruges, offering them the same capitula-

tions given to Ghent ; but if they give me the trouble of marching with the army, they must not expect it. I am afraid that I shall have the return of a civil answer, and the trouble of marching, which I shall give you an account of by my next.

I have directed Major General Cadogan to take the best measures he can to send you exactly, so that you may lay it before the Parliament, the forage and extraordinaries occasioned by this siege and the length of the campaign ; but this cannot be complied withall till the army is separated.

The Prince of Savoy bids me assure you that everything possible will be done to finish the dispute with the Pope.

Yours of the 14th I have this minute received, but it is so late that I must answer it by the next post.

I don't wonder at Mr. Bromley's barbarous ill-natured proceeding, since his anger proceeds from knowing that I will always serve my country to the best of my understanding, and that I shall never desire his friendship ; but what mortifies me is, that gentlemen who do approve of my services could be silent.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO LORD
GODOLPHIN.

Hague, Jan. 23, 1708-9.

The frost is so very severe that the packet-boat is froze up, and I very much doubt whether Lord

Stair will be able to make his passage in a fisher-boat from Scheveling, as he designs. Prince Eugene left this place on Sunday, and I go to Brussels tomorrow. You will see, by my letters by Palmes, the inclinations and steps that are likely to be made towards peace. Since my last I have been very much pressed concerning a barrier for this country ; but not having heard anything from you on that subject, (we having five posts due,) I have endeavoured to gain time, so that I believe they will have patience till my return, which I promised should be about the middle of next month, and then I shall know what further steps have been made by 111 (France) as to peace. Prince Eugene desires I would not stay for his arrival at Brussels, but that I should write such a letter as he might shew to the Emperor, that I would certainly embark on the first of March, and then he did not doubt but he should obtain leave to be there ; but as long as I should stay at Brussels, they would keep him at Vienna.

By this I believe there may be fifteen days between my leaving this country and his arrival. I shall endeavour to keep my going a secret, so that no yachts must be sent for me. I intend to embark at Ostend.

You know the good opinion and friendship I have for Lord Stair, so that I do make it my request to her Majesty, that if her affairs can permit it, that she would be pleased, as she has promised, to make him an English peer ; and I will be answerable the

Queen shall always find him a grateful and dutiful subject. I beg you will make this easy, so that he may have the pleasure of serving this session.

I am sorry to tell you, but it is true, that the French have reinforced their army in this country with fifty-one battalions and fifty-two squadrons, which is near three times as many as the augmentation of England and Holland ; for six thousand is the most that can be expected from this country. It is very true that ours is a real augmentation, and theirs is from weakening their armies on the Rhine and in Dauphiné. But if we should receive an affront here, it would hardly be repaired by success in those places ; so that I think it is plain the intention of the enemy is to decide the fate of the war in this country.

I beg you will give my humble duty to the Queen, and assure her Majesty that I wish her many, many happy new years.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

Jan. 17, 1709.

You will, by this post, receive a long letter from me. However I could not let Major General Palmes go without begging of you that you will inform yourself very particularly of him as to the Duke of Savoy's temper, for I fear he does not intend to do much hurt to France in this next campaign.

Palmes will inform you with the method I think he should be engaged, for I think we must by no means break with him, but, at the same time, not to be too much imposed on.

I have said nothing to Palmes nor Prince Eugene of the offers that have been made. I hope you will follow the same method, and to let as few as possible know them. I find the people here in very good humour, flattering themselves with a peace before the next campaign, which I believe is impossible; for I believe the French know that if they were beaten in this next campaign, the Dutch would not suffer them to be brought so low as we in England desire. This, joined with their bringing their troops from all parts, makes me believe that we shall have a battle early in the summer. I have acquainted the Pensioner, that whenever we treat, we must insist to have the treaty in the old method, to the Queen and her successors, and that we must have Newfoundland, and Dunkirk demolished. He feared the last would be impossible. The offers that have been made are not yet known to the States, and, if possible, it should be kept from them, for they are desirous of peace, that they would be of opinion that a partition treaty were better for them than war.

I am informed that 220 has gained much credit with the Queen. I did ever think him a very knave; I wish you may not find him so. For my own part, I have no thought but that of quietness; but whilst you and I have any share in the government, we

must do our best that the Queen and England may be happy.

I have made Palmes promise not to stay above eight days in England, so that I beg you will despatch him, for he must go to Vienna, and be at the beginning of April at Turin, in order to press their taking the field early. He has desired me to let you know that his voyages are expenceful. My next will be by Lord Stair, who thinks of leaving this place on Monday.

LORD GODOLPHIN TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

Jan. 30, 1708-9.

The wind continuing contrary, and little hopes of hearing from you before the going out of the next packet, I take this time to trouble you with some things which are reserved for your determination, that you may, if you think fit, turn your thoughts to them in the mean time.

The regiment that was Lord Charlemont's being vacant, there are several pretenders to it, as Honywood, Sutton, &c. Among them my Lord Islay, the Duke of Argyle's brother, who is very forward to serve, and has shewn himself very useful in the House of Lords in our disputes about the election of the sixteen peers from Scotland. What other pretenders you may have with you, I know not; I do not make the least promise to anybody till you come.

Another thing of the same kind is the government of Jamaica, which will soon be vacant, as Handay wishes to be relieved, and there are a great many importunities to succeed him ; but that will be kept for your disposal.

I could send you a list, I dare say, of about fifty people that have asked for the vacancy in the Council of Trade, by my Lord Herbert's death ; but it is impossible to dispose of that till after the end of the session, without disoblighing 49 of that list.

When the session is like to end I am very far from being able to tell you. The examinations of the papers relating to the invasion is not yet entered upon in either House, nor the accounts of the last year's expence in Spain, nor the estimates for Spain and Portugal voted for this present year. This last is the most pressing of anything at this time, because till those estimates are voted, we can go no farther upon ways and means ; but if that step were once made, we are not without some hopes of having a proposal from the Bank for raising the remainder of the supply at once.

The subject of this letter is very different from what I generally write to you ; but till I can have the satisfaction of receiving some answer to the many letters you will have had before this time, I can only trouble you with the state of our supplies in parliament.

Mr. Palmes's instructions are agreed on, and I think he was to return to you by Friday's packet.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

Brussels, Jan. 31, 1708-9.

I have had the favour of yours of the 10th, by Ostend, and am hourly in expectation of six posts due from England, by the way of Holland. I am glad to see that I shall have your thoughts as to peace, since that will be of use to me when I return to the Hague, which will be about the middle of the next month. What you mention in your second article of pressing the Court of Vienna, I have explained that matter very fully, and with earnestness expressed my thoughts to Prince Eugene ; but I must, at the same time, own very freely to you, that I do not expect the Duke of Savoy will do anything very considerable the next campaign, so that we shall have but little ease from that side, and, if possible, less from the Elector of Hanover, by which you may guess at the circumstances we are like to be in for the next campaign, the enemy having taken their measures to have a superiority of forty battalions and fifty squadrons.

I must beg you not to think me partial, in having the honour to serve in this country ; but that really my zeal for the common cause obliges me to tell you, that if we receive an affront in this country, no success in other parts can make amends for it. At this very time the French are marching their troops from Spain, the Rhine, and Dauphiné,

in such numbers as shews very plainly that they will put their whole chance upon what may be the success of this country, in a manner abandoning, or at least neglecting, the other parts of the war. After all, when you have advised and considered of what I now write, and that you shall be of opinion that the battalions at Antwerp may be better employed, I shall lose no time in sending them wherever the Queen's pleasure shall be to command them.

I am extremely concerned at the latter part of yours, and I beg of you to do me the justice to believe, that if anything in my power; though never so hazardous, could give you ease, I should with pleasure do it. I can easily believe your being tired with business, and the great desire you have of enjoying quietness, by my own inclinations; for though I meet here with all the marks of friendship and approbation of what I have done, yet I am so desirous of retiring, that nothing but my duty to the Queen, and friendship to you, could make me resolve going through the trouble of this war. This has been a very laborious campaign; but I am sensible the next will be more troublesome, for most certainly the enemy will venture and do their utmost to get the better of us; but I trust in the Almighty, that he will protect and give success to our just cause.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

Brussels, Feb. 4, 1708-9.

By the two letters, as well as my former letters from Lord Galway, I see the desire he has of an augmentation of troops; the same desire comes from Catalonia; but neither do yet know the measures the French have taken for the neglecting all other posts, in order to strengthen their army in this country; and if our parties in England will govern this campaign, in not letting measures be taken for the preventing the designs of the enemy, we may meet with such an affront as may be fatal. I can but do my duty in representing and assuring you of my obedience in whatever may be commanded.

I know it is much the best for the service that the prisoners in France should help to recruit the regiments in this country. But as I am informed, that some that certainly do not wish well to the public good, will make a noise; so that with her Majesty's permission, I intend to send them to their several regiments, having sent the officers of these several regiments to recruit in England. The authority to Lieutenant-General Erle for the regiments in England and the recruits will be for your ease, and the Queen's service; but I think you should not think of any embarkation; for the expence, the uncertainty of success, and the little attention the enemy gave the last summer proves plainly that it will not make much diversion.

I do not say anything to you as to the steps which have been made for peace, since it will be time enough upon my arrival in England. At my return from the Hague, which is to be about the middle of this month, I shall hear more of the barrier. I have constantly assured them, that as to Ostend, they must have no thoughts. I believe this matter, as well as that of peace, must be transacted in England, which I hope the Queen will think for her service as well as for my ease, that the dispute that may arise may not fall singly on me.

I send by this post to Mr. Secretary Boyle a project I have sent to the Court of Berlin for six thousand men. I hope they will approve of it; but almost everybody is so selfish and unreasonable, that there is no answering for anything. I believe we must not reckon upon the Palatine troops we had the last year; for, notwithstanding the offers we have made, I hear one part of them are gone to take their winter quarters in the Upper Palatinate, which will be welcome news to the enemy, they knowing very well that those troops will give them no trouble till the month of July.

Before the departure of Prince Eugene, I did press him extremely for the contenting of the Duke of Savoy. Major General Palmes will have informed you how that matter stands; and my former letter will have acquainted you with what is expected from those parts. I have no reason to change my opinion, and the intelligence I have of the Elector

of Hanover gives no hopes, but of his being troublesome.

I hope the King of France is not truly informed of our circumstances ; but if he is, he will make his advantage this next campaign.

I hope by this time you have dispatched Mr. Palmes ; for he should be at Vienna, and indeed at Turin.

Pray assure Welligs that I have received his with great pleasure ; and am much his friend and servant.

LORD GODOLPHIN TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

Feb. 4-15, 1708-9.

The wind continuing still contrary, we are still without the satisfaction of hearing from you ; but believing the letters of this post may probably find you at the Hague, it may be necessary to acquaint you with a conversation Lord Somers tells me he has had with him you used to call the *wooden fellow* ;* and has indeed desired me to give you an account of it.

He says 3 (Lord Portland) tells him that the States were in very great uneasiness with you, and almost jealous of you, because you declined to enter into any discourse concerning the barrier for Holland, and that this was gone so far, that if you was not easier with them in that matter at your return, and more disposed to make them easy, they

* Lord Portland.

had in a manner taken a resolution of sending 60 (Buys) once more to England about that matter ; adding, that if you had no notion of this intention of the States, it must be because they had a mind to keep it from you till it was too late to be prevented.

My chief opinion upon all this is, that it would be extremely inconvenient to our affairs for Buys to come to England ; and by what I have written to you already upon that subject, if we continue to insist upon the rasing of Dunkirk, as I hope we always do, I then cannot see any reason why England and the States should have any difference about the town of Ostend ; for there cannot be afterwards any pretence of insecurity to Holland from that place, when their dangerous neighbours are removed from Dunkirk. And if this be a true state of that matter, there remains no more to bring this affair to a fair and friendly conclusion, but to agree that both nations should stand upon the same foot, as to their trade with the two countries, which they did before the war. This Lord Portland himself allows to be reasonable ; and as a great friend to both sides, seems to wish it were put into a method of being adjusted as soon as possible.

And, perhaps, this may be a useful preliminary to be settled on that side ; but Buys coming would hurt everything.

My pen and ink is so ill that I will not trouble you any farther.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO LORD
GODOLPHIN.

Brussels, Feb. 17th, 1709.

I shall leave this letter to come by the post of tomorrow, not being able to come time enough to write from the Hague. I have had the favour of yours of the 28th, and the 1st of this month. I am entirely of the opinion of Lord Somers, that it is very reasonable that the States should settle with England the preliminaries before they have any commerce with France, and shall behave myself agreeable to this opinion. But as this negotiation is carried on not by public authority, but by private hands, I fear their curiosity may go further than what they would own to me. I hope for the satisfaction of being with you in a fortnight. I shall not say much on this subject till then ; only I fear the inclinations for peace at the Hague are greater than is believed in England.

I take Major General Cadogan with me, and shall intrust him with what may be necessary during my absence : for if any new person should be sent over, that may make an unnecessary jealousy. But if any real step should be made, that would be communicated by them to England, either by their envoy, or a new person, so that you on the place may judge and give your advice to her Majesty of what may be proper ; for I think the consequences are too considerable to be judged by any on this

side the water. I fear you entertain Major General Palmes too long in England.*

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

Feb. 21, 1709.

I received yesterday the favour of yours of the 20th, with Lord Stair's letter. I read it, though there is very little in it. By your saying nothing to me of the Duke of Hamilton, I fear you may have forgot to speak to him as I desired concerning Lieutenant General Meredith.

If Lord Sunderland's news-letter be true, I should hope the King of France were in earnest, and then there would be a peace, which upon all accounts I long for, being extremely weary of the life I am obliged to live, for my spirit is so broke, that I am become fit for nothing else but a lazy quiet life, which I prefer before all the pleasures of this world.

I forgot to speak to you and the Queen to know if it might not be proper for me to have power to open the packet that comes by the messenger from Mr. Stanyan, for what may concern the peace may be for her Majesty's service that I should know it as early as possible. If it be thought proper, Lord

* "I have pressed Lord Sunderland all I can to dispatch Palmes's instructions ; but so much of his time is applied to caballing and Parliament meetings, that I can't obtain one meeting about this affair ; which, however, I am sensible is so necessary, that it shall, if possibly, be done next week."—*Lord Godolphin to the Duke of Marlborough*, Feb. 7, 1709.

Sunderland should send me an order for the messenger by the first post.

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I shall be on board in less than an hour, the wind being to the west of the south.

LORD GODOLPHIN TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

Feb. 11-22, 1709.

Since my last I have had none of yours to acknowledge, but expect them every hour, the wind being easterly and very violent since Monday, which is extremely inconvenient ; for it keeps all our letters from meeting you at the Hague, as I find you wished they might have done ; and, consequently, I doubt the expectation of them will occasion your staying there longer than you intended.

But we must have patience. The committee of ways and means having agreed to the proposal of the bank, we reckon provision is made for 5,200,000*l.* of this year's supplies ; and though the estimates of the expence of this year amount to above one more, yet if we can get but half of it, I believe we must be content with it, and wind up the session as soon as we can, for many very good reasons.

There are many pretensions here to my Lord Charlemont's regiment: those who seem to think their own pretensions the finest are my Lord Islay, Sutton, and Colonel Honywood. There are twice as many for the vacancy in Lord Lothian's regi-

ment, his own son-in-law, a son of my Lord Dunmore, Mr. Montgomery, Abercromby, and a brother of my Lord Seafield's; all these importunities I prepare you for, not doubting but you have a great many more, that I never so much as heard of.

I believe it would be convenient that Maccartney's personal exchange might be agreed, if it could be separated from the general one, with the soonest; for the loss of Newfoundland has put us upon hastening a project for him, in which I think he is more useful than anybody that I know.

The Comte de Gallas has given a memorial by express order from the Court of Vienna, with demands of more assistance for the King of Spain, some of which seem to me to be very extravagant.

Major General Palmes is still kept here by the contrary winds.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

Hague, Feb. 22, 1709.

The wind is so very high and contrary, that I have no hopes of hearing from you during my stay here, which will be till Monday. It freezes now as hard as ever, which is a very great *contretems*.

I find generally the people here very much inclined to peace, and those who know the least talk the most. But by all that I can learn, nothing has been offered but in general terms, and that only tending to a partition treaty; so that we may be

assured of making the next campaign. I pray God it may answer your expectations in England.

If the men-of-war be at Ostend by the end of next week, I shall then take my measures of losing no time of being with you, and then I shall acquaint you with all I know of peace. I have been obliged to promise the Pensionary that I shall immediately return upon notice of the French drawing together, for they do believe the intelligence they have from France of their design of besieging Lille.

Not knowing whether you have had the particulars of the treaty with the Pope, I have, by this post, sent Mr. Secretary my letter from the Count de Prie; and I now send for your perusal a long letter from the Comte de Wratislaw.

I am very glad to find by yours of the 30th, that Lord Islay has behaved himself so well, for his brother, the Duke of Argyle, has done the same this campaign, so that if her Majesty be easy in it, I should be glad that regiment were given to him before my return.

You have kept Palmes so long in England, and the wind being now contrary, that I do not expect to see him. If, at my return to Brussels, I hear of the men-of-war at Ostend, I shall leave a letter for him, that he may lose no time in going to Vienna, and from thence to Turin, where he ought to be to press that Prince to take the field early. The same thing should be pressed in Catalonia; for if the enemy be suffered to act quietly the beginning of

the campaign in this country, and they are not at the same time pressed by our allies, I mean the Duke of Savoy and the Marshal de Staremberg, for from Portugal and the Rhine I expect nothing, though on the side of Alsace the French have very few troops, I am afraid this next summer you will see the French endeavour to play their old management of the last war, of obtaining a superiority by their efforts early in this country, and then making such detachments as may enable their other armies to act offensively in the months of September and October. If we receive the least affront this will happen.

My Lord Albemarle is informed that commissioners are appointed for the taking and stating of the late King's debts. He has desired me to beg your favour on this occasion.

I do not see by any of your letters, or by the votes of the House of Commons, that any care is taken of the debt to the Landgrave of Hesse, which you know the Queen was engaged to pay this year.

LORD GODOLPHIN TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

Friday Night, March 25—April 5, 1709.

I am very sorry you have had such wet weather for your journey to Deal, and much afraid the fair wind you set out with this morning will not hold long; however, I venture a letter to you by this night's packet, that if you have the good fortune to

get soon to the Hague, you may see I do not intend to lose any opportunity of writing to you.

My Lord Halifax told me this morning from the Duke of Newcastle, that Lord Thanet had refused to sign, till some new difficulty found out by his counsel should be first adjusted. He desired me to speak to the Duke of Newcastle about it, which I did, and his Grace promised me to use all his endeavours with my Lord Thanet to finish; and I have heard since from Mr. Dummer, that it is like to be agreed; but if the difficulty continues, I suppose he will acquaint you with it by this post.

When you hear anything particular from Dunkirk, I hope you will let us know it; though I can't be much alarmed at that matter, not thinking it possible they would lay an embargo only to give us warning, and then take it off again before they were in a readiness for their attempt.

I was told yesterday by Lord Powlett, that in case this noise should continue, it was buzzed about as if the Elector of Hanover would offer his service to the Queen upon that occasion.

I am not a competent judge whether the Elector of Hanover has in reality any such intentions; but I am sure I have no notion of what they can mean by it.

I find you have talked of what I said to you about the carriage of Lord Dartmouth; for to-day I was told by a friend of his, that he was in great concern to hear that I was not pleased with him.

We are got one step farther in the Scotch Treason Bill; but if at last it does go through both Houses, I believe it will not be without a good deal of difficulty.

I will give you now no more trouble, but to wish we may quickly hear you are well at the Hague.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

Hague, May 5, 1709.

Since my arrival here I have received the favour of yours by Collins, as also that of the 20th.

I do with all my heart lament the many things you have to struggle withal; it is that and some things I take unkindly, that has brought me to the resolution I have taken.

I shall do all I can, so that if the wind be fair, I may leave this place next Sunday; but I very much fear that my presence will not be of that use you think. I am sure my heart shall be entirely yours, and you shall govern me in anything that may contribute to your ease.

I have already acquainted the Prince of Frieze that the Queen's sore eyes was the reason of his not receiving an answer, her Majesty being desirous of writing with her own hand; but as I fear he will not be here till I am gone, you will do well to let Monsieur Vinberg know the reason.

I should think you would do well to acquaint Lady Sunderland with the behaviour of Lord Sunderland, for she has more power than I have over

him ; for my own part, I think his behaviour unaccountable. I hope to be so soon with you, that I shall in this letter give you no further trouble.

WILLIAM PENN. TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

May 3, 1709.

Noble Friend,

Thy best friends have been in some pain for thy quick and agreeable passage, which they now conclude, because they have no news yet from thee.

It is by no means pleasing that the Duke chooses the field before the cabinet, since the enemies are so much abler there than in the field, and that the Duke, without flattery, is equally able in both; and as he has nobody of his size in the field, so nobody can be better furnished for the cabinet. And that so great a General should victoriously forward a peace, is certainly a great addition to his character, it being as wise as brave, and I think Christian too.

I have inclosed to the Duke my novel about peace; it is no more than Henry the Fourth designed, and the States of Holland have proved practicable, and therefore not chimerical.

For America, I hope in a post or two, under my Lady Duchess's cover, to send in a paper a few particulars that may be worth our poor country a million of money yearly for ought I know. Lord

* The celebrated Quaker, and colonizer of Pennsylvania.

Treasurer has not seen it, whose correct judgment I would be glad to have upon it; I add no more but that I am with great sincerity and respect,

Thy faithful friend,

WM. PENN.

WILLIAM PENN TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

Bristol, May 22, 1709.

My Noble Friend,

I hope my last came time enough for the peace, especially, since all our news made us believe there would be none this year, but to-day's prints speaking so very favourably of it, I send this in reference to our north bounds in America.

The English empire on the Continent lies upon the south side, and we claim to the north side of Hudson's Bay; but I should be glad that our north bounds might be expressed and allowed to the south side of St. Lawrence's River, that feeds Canada eastwards and comes from the lakes westward, which will make a glorious end from those lakes due west to the river of Mississippi, and traverse that river to the extreme bounds of the Continent westwards, whereby we may secure a thousand miles of that river down the Bay of Mexico, and that the French demolish, or at least quit, all their settlements within the bounds aforesaid.

The Duke may find at any noted stationer's in Holland or Flanders the map of North America, and see how St. Lawrence River runs east and west

through the length of the Continent, and that of Mississippi, which lies 2000 miles across the Continent, north and south, for without such a settlement of our American boundaries, we shall be in hazard of being dangerously surprised by the French, and their Indians especially, if they send but twelve ships to attack by sea. I humbly refer it all to the Duke's English heart and head, to secure to his country so great an one, and of that value on many accounts, and no more I think than we have a real claim to—forgive the roughness: a general assembly of people from the countries about this city so fill one with company and business, I cannot send it in a better dress. God speed the plough; allow me thy good opinion, and believe me to be with great respect,

Thy obliged and faithful friend,

WM. PENN.

LORD GODOLPHIN TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

May 24, 1709.

The delivering up of Spain to King Charles the Third in pursuance of your treaty, as it is a matter of the greatest consequence, so perhaps it may prove of more difficulty and delay than the treaty seems to suppose; and therefore, we have thought it advisable here to take all possible measures for procuring the town of Cadiz to declare for King Charles immediately; and in order to this you will have an account from my Lord Sunderland by this post, of the

directions sent to Sir George Byng and to Mr. Stanhope, which you are to forward, in case the treaty be signed, or otherwise to detain it in your hands.

The article of Newfoundland is extremely pleasing here ; and it would be a great addition to that satisfaction, if you would get the French Plenipotentiaries to write to their court for orders to be sent for the delivering up that country, and particularly the forts of St. John's and Placentia, to those whom her Majesty shall appoint to take the possession for her.

I have the favour of yours of the 21st, and have given Medina's paper inclosed in it, to be compared with the other which you sent me from Margate ; I will take care to satisfy him as soon as I can.

I find by yours, that Lord Raby is very pressing, but shall take no farther notice of it, unless I hear again from you, after he has explained himself to Mr. de Cardonnell.

My Lord Steward moved this morning, at the Cabinet Council, that when the Marshal de Tallard has leave to return home, as is requested by Monsieur de Torcy, the same favour might be granted by France to the Marquis de Leganzy. I think if the French should refuse this, it would be a great mark of their insincerity, when they promise to give up Spain.

I am a little surprised at what you write of the Marshal de Villars having drawn twenty-six thousand men together at La Bassée ; the character

of the man makes it not impossible for him to play the fool. I hope we shall not have the second part of what passed in Portugal.

My Lord Wharton has sent over Sir John Withering hither, with a commission to raise a new regiment.

I have told him it would be disbanded before it could be complete, but that does not satisfy.

DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

Hague, May 25th, 1709.

I have stopped the post for one day, in hopes we might have been able to have sent the project of preliminaries, which, in effect, is the peace, but since the unhappy action of Portugal, they are more captious on the expression in many articles; however, I believe we shall have finished by Monday, and then Lord Townshend and I shall let Mr. Secretary have our observations, so that no time may be lost in receiving her Majesty's commands.

I cannot say enough of the pleasure I have in the company and assistance of Lord Townshend. Prince Eugene goes from hence to-morrow; my stay will depend on the manner we shall finish with Monsieur de Torcy. I have this minute had the favour of yours of the 10th, by which I see you had not received any of mine. The Count de Zinzendorff has been here these two days, and was this morning admitted to the conference, where none but those of the great alliance have been as yet.

May 27th.

Finding this letter not gone when I came from the conference of Saturday night, Lord Townshend and I thought it very proper to stop the letter, by the difficulties we found in the conference by reason of the Dutch having inserted several articles concerning their barrier, which Prince Eugene and Count Zinzendorff declared they could not agree to, so that we separated that night in some anger; but I thank God we are now agreed as to that article, so that we have now only to struggle with the difficulties of Monsieur de Torcy, who seems to be very desirous of gaining time, which is hard to avoid, by his declaring positively that he has not power to agree to several articles we insist upon, so that I believe we shall, for the saving of time, sign and give them till the 4th of June, N. S., which is as soon as we can possibly get into the field, so that hitherto we have lost no time.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

Hague, May 31st, 1709.

Having had no answer to any of our letters, we are very impatient of hearing from you. It is not to be expressed the joy these people have, not doubting that the peace is sure.

Medina has been with me with dismal complaints, that when the enclosed paper is allowed, he shall be still a loser of above five thousand pounds by the last campaign. You must compare the enclosed

with that which I sent you from Margate, for I kept no copy of it. I beg you will let me know in what manner you can pay him, for he is really running mad, having this year taken upon him to furnish the Dutch army as well as the English, by which he may be undone, for he now pays four times as much for the corn as formerly.

Mr. de Cardonnel tells me that Lord Raby is so very desirous of having his name in the treaty of peace,* that he will be contented to stay at Berlin, and consequently have no equipage money. I have bid him (de Cardonnel) write to him, so that he may explain himself, and if it cost the Queen nothing, he being the only ambassador, I think his name should be inserted, though he is a very coxcomb.

* Remarks by the Duchess of Marlborough on the envelope of a letter from Lord Raby to the Duke, congratulating him on the conclusion of peace, June 1, 1709.

“The peace which my Lord Raby calls so glorious, and which was so near made, would certainly have been finished, had not my Lord Oxford, and those that assisted him in doing so much mischief, thought it too good; and for that reason they encouraged France to hold out, which appeared by a thousand things to those that knew the secrets of those times; and, at the same time that they prevented this peace, they imposed upon many in making them believe the Duke of Marlborough had a design to continue the war for ever for his own advantage, who had really more interest in making an end of it and was fonder of doing it than anybody, for ten thousand reasons. But if he had made a peace that was not to be justified, though it had been twenty times better than what the Queen by the wicked counsellors made, they would have tore the Duke of Marlborough to pieces for that, as they designed to do if he had quitted her service, though they did all that was possible to make him do it, and when that barbarity did not succeed, they turned him out.”

Lord Lexington was added the last peace to the commission, and had orders not to come to the Hague, and I own to you that when neither the Queen nor public receives prejudice by it, I should be glad to make everybody happy.

The Prince of Savoy left this place yesterday, and will be at Brussels this evening, which I am very glad of, for our letters of this day let us know that the Marshal de Villars has formed a camp at La Bassée, of 25,000 men.

I hope Mr. Walpole may be able to bring the ratification of the preliminaries by the end of next week, for by that time I must be going to Flanders.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

Hague, June 7, 1709.

You will see, by what we send to Mr. Secretary, the reasons the King of France gives for not ratifying the preliminaries. If his condition be such as we believe, he will be forced to comply, especially if these people continue in the resolution they now are in. I shall go from hence to-morrow night or the next morning, in order to join the army next Wednesday, which is the time appointed for their meeting. God knows how we shall make the army subsist, the weather having been so bad, that nothing grows. The Marshal de Villars has given his advice to the King for adventuring a battle. There is no doubt a battle in the plains of Lens would put

an end to this war ; but if that should happen, and God Almighty, as hitherto, bless with success the arms of the allies, I think the Queen should then have the honour of insisting upon putting the French government upon their being governed by the Three Estates, which I think is more likely to give quiet to Christendom than the tearing provinces from them for the enriching of others.

You may be sure that Lord Townshend and I have done, and shall always do, what is in our power for the Duke of Savoy's interest ; but I cannot but think their ministers are to blame if they are not pleased ; but these here begin to be satisfied that we have done our best.

The Pensioner sends me word this minute, it being ten o'clock at night, that Monsieur de Rouillée has been with him, so that he desires I would stop the post till to-morrow, in order that I might have an account of what had passed.

June 8th.

You will see, by the account to Mr. Secretary, what has passed last night and this day. Monsieur de Rouillée has this evening despatched a courier, in order to give notice of his leaving this place to-morrow. If the King of France will agree, I suppose he will receive orders on the road to return. You will see, by the accounts we send, that everybody here has been as firm as we can desire ; but if the French should be resolute, we may then expect

a good deal of ill-humours from those that long for peace.

I believe Monsieur de Rouillée knows by Petit-homme, his agent, that if the King his master offers some cautionary towns, till he can put King Charles in possession of Spain and the Indies, that it will be accepted.

The Pensioner has obliged me to stay till to-morrow in the afternoon, there being in the morning a congress of all the ministers, so that we shall acquaint them with all that has passed, and exhort them to write to their masters for the prosecuting the war with vigour ; all this is done that France may see we are in earnest.

I send you enclosed a letter I received yesterday from Lord Raby, in which you will see the inserting his name will be no expense to her Majesty. The first part of his letter is only compliments to me.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE EARL OF
SUNDERLAND.

Hague, June 7, 1709.

My Lord,

Since my last, I am to thank you for two very obliging letters, and I do assure you that you can't give your kindness to anybody that esteems it more, and shall always *endeavour to deserve it*.

You will see, by what we send to Mr. Secretary, the difficulties the King of France makes to the ratifying the preliminaries. I can't but be of opinion,

though Monsieur de Rouillée should return without agreeing to anything, the preliminaries will be agreed to before the end of this *month*. I have desired to be informed of the date of Montander's commission, for I very well remember, when he was made Major General, it was to the prejudice of some English officers. As he is a Frenchman, and not having been very lucky, if his commission should be of a younger date than some others, it may make a noise. But whatever is the Queen's pleasure, I shall endeavour to make it easy. My Lord Galway has writ to me in favour of Lord Barrymore, and, by the date of his commission, he should be a Major General.

The army is to assemble the 12th, so that I shall leave this place to-morrow night, or the next morning, so that my next will be from Flanders; and, as you will see by the enclosed paper, if the Marshal de Villars can govern, we must have a battle before the peace.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

Rotterdam, June 9, 1709.

You will find, by your letters of yesterday, that Monsieur de Rouillée was to leave the Hague as this day, which he did at seven o'clock in the morning. He sent last night to Versailles, as we believe, in hopes to receive orders at his arrival at Mons, with power to offer cautionary towns till the evacuation of Spain and the Indies. Time is precious,

so that if the Queen would be pleased to order Mr. Secretary, by the next post, to let Lord Townshend know that he should comply with what the Emperor's minister and the States General shall agree to be for the public good. I have sent Thornbury, the messenger, to the Hague, to stay there for some days, till we see how this negotiation is like to end. If Monsieur de Rouillée is to be believed, the King his master will venture his kingdom rather than sign the treaty, with the thirty-first article as it is ; however, I am persuaded they will find something to offer to which we shall agree.

I shall be with the army on the 12th ; but the account we have concerning the forage is so terrible, that I fear *that* much more than the Marshal de Villars's gasconading. Though we want two imperial regiments of horse, which are kept to serve on the Rhine ; the Palatine's, consisting of fifteen squadrons and eight battalions, are also not come ; however, our army will consist of two hundred and forty-five squadrons and one hundred and fifty-two battalions. I pray God to bless us, and then we have nothing to fear. This being two days before the post, I shall give you no further trouble ; if anything new should happen, you will have it from Lord Townshend.

LORD GODOLPHIN TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

Tuesday, June 7, 1709.

I have troubled you so much of late, that you will

be afraid of seeing the outside of a letter from me. Sunday I wrote to you by Colonel Honywood,—last night by the way of Ostend, and therefore it will not be necessary to repeat anything in this letter of what I said last night.

The Court of France seems to give itself great airs of *fierté*; but I don't find the oppressions and miseries of their kingdom are like to have much relief by that; but their general complaints will soon be revived with more violence than ever.

I am sorry the backwardness of the season hinders your army from being in motion so soon as were to be wished, and I am in great hopes, by what we hear from Italy, that your endeavours will be very well seconded by the Duke of Savoy, on the side of Dauphiné.

It is very disagreeable to think the French will ruin all the forage wherever they think you can come; but if you have a possibility of marching anywhere near the sea-coast, I believe we might be able to furnish you with bread for your whole army. You will judge best whether this notion can be of any use to you. I have written more fully of it in my former letters. We are just sending out Rear Admiral Baker, with his squadron and seven regiments of foot to the straights for the service of Spain; and my Lord Sunderland will write this night to Mr. Stanhope, to acquaint him with it, and send orders to the Hague, for the messenger

who is now there, to go on to Barcelona with these despatches.

Count Gallas tells us that, by fresh letters from thence, he is informed a squadron of our ships were preparing to go to Sicily. That would have been useless if the treaty had proceeded, and even as things stand, I think that squadron might be more serviceable upon the coast of Spain.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

Ghent, June 13, 1709.

Since my last I had the favour of yours of the 24th, and at the same time a letter from Lord Sunderland by the express that should have gone for Spain ; but as the treaty is broke off upon the difficulties of delivering that kingdom, I thought it for the service to stop him for some time ; for if we do not hear in two or three days from Monsieur de Rouillée, I believe we may depend upon making this campaign. God knows what is best, but we are like to meet with great difficulties as to forage. There has been so much rain that this morning all the general-officers were of opinion that we must not march forward till we had first three or four days' sunshine, so that the ground might be a little dried, there being no straw in the country for the poor men to lie upon, so that should we now march, one half of the foot might in less than ten days be in the hospitals.

We make use of this delay in sending up the Lys all that may be necessary for a siege ; for when we shall get to the plains of Lens, we must have a battle or a siege, the greatest difficulty of the latter will be the want of forage.

As Lord Townshend will inform you of all that passes at the Hague, I shall by this post give you no further trouble.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

Ghent, June 13, 1709.

My Lord Townshend will acquaint you with what passes at the Hague. If the preparations and resolutions of France be as we are informed, I fear it will not be long before the States will wish they had given the King of France the satisfaction of explaining the 31st article.

It is impossible for me to express the apprehensions I have, as well as most of the general-officers, that we shall not find wherewithal to make the army subsist, especially if we enter France. So it were to be wished the peace had been agreed ; but what I write in this paper I desire may never be known to any but the Queen.

74 (Lord Raby) is contented to be in the commission, and as Lord Lexington did, he must not sign, but stay where he is. I know him to be a very meddling, worthless, insignificant creature ; but

since he is the only one that has the title of ambassador, he should in justice be named.

LORD GODOLPHIN TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

June 14, 1709.

My letter of yesterday, which you will receive at the same time with this, was so long, that I shall now give you the trouble only of telling you what care has been taken to stop the corn for France.

Sir John Norris is sent to the Sound as the most proper station to intercept it from the Baltic; Sir John Leake is going to supply his place before Dunkirk, and my Lord Dursley's squadron of seven ships cruises in the sounding to protect our own trade, and to lie in their way in case they come north about. Orders are also sent to Sir George Byng in the Mediterranean for some ships to cruise betwixt the parts of Barbary and the south of France.

This seems to be as much as is possible for us to do here in this matter. I hope the Dutch will send ships also to the northward, and serve to watch the other channel of Dunkirk, ours not being able to do both.

And I wish all the rest of the allies would be as diligent and zealous in their efforts by land; but I don't find the Elector of Hanover is yet moved towards the Rhine, nor, which is more material, do

our letters from Turin by yesterday's post give any comfortable accounts of their forwardness on that side. I don't know whether you will not think proper to touch something of this to Count Maffei: his master has already received a great deal of money from the Queen for this year's extraordinaries, besides the regular subsidy; and it is not reasonable, whenever he thinks fit to be out of humour with the Court of Vienna, that her Majesty's great charge and pains must be thrown away, who shows so much concern for him, and takes so much care of his interests everywhere.

I am afraid you will think our troops going to Spain are not like to be of much service there. While we had hope of getting it by treaty, there was no thought of doing it; but I don't see how it can be now avoided, since the French lay so much stress upon the keeping of Spain, and the Parliament has given the money for those regiments, in order to reduce it.

LORD GODOLPHIN TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

June 15, 1709.

I have the favour of yours of the 9th from Rotterdam in your way to the army, where I hope you will find everything in a better forwardness than you seem to expect, and that God Almighty will continue to bless your endeavours and preserve your person as he has hitherto done.

Upon the arrival of the foreign letters to-day, it is a great satisfaction to find the Duke of Savoy is preparing to take the field immediately, and the Court of Vienna, having gone great lengths towards his satisfaction, we have good ground to hope he will make the campaign cheerfully and vigorously.

We are chiefly concerned here at present with the fear that Rouillée will return and offer cautionary towns, which can have no other effect than still to amuse and renew a negotiation, which seems to be well ended in one respect, since there seems to be more spirit and union among the allies than at any time before ; and, indeed, I don't wonder at it, since the insincerity and trickery of France about Spain is so detected and so plain, that there seems to be an absolute necessity upon the allies to resent it. But I don't know why I give you much trouble upon this head, since Mr. Secretary will send you the copy of this letter to Lord Townshend in answer to my Lord's letter to him of the 11th, received this day. The weather has been delicious yesterday and to-day. I hope you will have both the satisfaction and advantage of it.

I writ you a long letter yesterday by the way of Ostend, though I remember you used to chide me for it last year ; but I still fancy it must needs come to you a day or two sooner than by Holland.

Our American expedition must now be at an end ; and the troops designed for it being part of the

establishment for Spain, must either be sent thither directly, or else employed, as I hinted in my letter of yesterday by Ostend, for reducing of Spain by pressing France.

I received this morning the enclosed for you, from Lady Marlborough, who I hear intends to be to-morrow night at Windsor Lodge ; but she does not let me know when she designs to be in town.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

Abbey of Looz, June 24, 1709.

Since my last I have none of yours, nor nothing new has happened here except the endorsed letter of the King of France, which came the day before yesterday from Paris. By this letter as well as by all the motions they make, we may be assured that they have taken their measures for the making of this campaign. Where they are now posted they are so strongly entrenched that I believe it will not be thought advisable to attack their entrenchments ; but no resolution is yet taken. The Prince of Savoy and the deputies dine with me to-day ; and about five in the afternoon we expect the return of Monsieur Dopff and Cadogan, that marched at break of day with a strong detachment to visit the country for our next camp. It is not to be imagined the misery the poor country people are in, and as all the wheat is killed everywhere that we have yet seen or hear of, I know not how we

shall be able to keep the field in the month of October ; as the enemy must struggle with the same difficulty, we must endeavour to do our best, and our first thoughts must be to oblige them to march from their present camp. The Elector of Bavaria is yet at Mons, so that the whole is commanded by Marshal de Villars.

I thank God we have now very good weather, and I hope it may continue, so that it may recompense us for the very bad, weather which we have had. which has already occasioned sickness ; for there is no straw in the country, so that the poor men have been obliged to be on the wet ground.

You know I am not desirous of giving the Queen any trouble with this sort of people ; but the Marshal de Villars sending me yesterday the endorsed from Lady Sophia Buckley, I send it, that you may take your time of reading it to her Majesty, so that I may know what answer to make. If it be true what she says, in justice some care should be taken for the money. She means Mr. Whitlock.

LORD GODOLPHIN TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

June 24, Midsummer-day, 1709.

I writ to you yesterday by Mr. Macky, and by the way of Ostend, in order to a settlement of that

correspondence for the future, which I hope you will find very useful.

I returned to you Lady S. B.'s letter, with the answer which the Queen thought proper for you to make, which, by the style of her letter, one may easily judge is not like to be very pleasing, especially if she has taken the pains to begin her journey to Brussels. But it is so impossible in our circumstances to give any other answer, that it would not be very convenient to have it known even that there was such a request.

I find by Mr. Walpole, that you send over the English prisoners taken at Almanza, which I am sorry for, because they are very good men, and might be useful to you ; and I can never think all your regiments are so full as not to have room for them, nor is it reasonable to give those men to the Colonels of those regiments here, who have had all the levy money to complete their regiments, as if there were no such men in the world.

It appearing by our fresh letters, that the Pretender is come to the Marshal de Villars's army, it will be necessary to watch the port of Dunkirk very particularly ; and I hope therefore you will order Mr. Cadogan to renew his correspondence in that place, that so we may have timely notice of the enemy's designs ; for in case they should really think of an attempt at this time, we have not near so many ships at hand now as upon the last attempt, nor have we more regiments at home than are just

necessary to shut the gates, but those three which Monsieur Vryberg presses for very much to be sent over to you as necessary to complete the Queen's part of the augmentation. But I hope this is not necessary, having never heard anything like it from you.

I wish very much you may have quick success at Tournay; but I hope you will not think it necessary to send an express with the news, our exchequer being very low at present; as the extraordinary number of the poor Palatines which come over every day are a very great burthen upon the Queen.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

Villeavean, June 27, 1709.

The bringing our battering canon to Menin has had the success we wished, for the French take it for granted that we intended the siege of Ypres, and accordingly put sixteen battalions in that place, and drew ten battalions from Tournay, so that we marched last night, and this day, by twelve of the clock, the town was invested. And as they have not above half the troops in the town they ought to have for a vigorous defence, we intend to attack the town and citadel at the same time.

Not only Prince Eugene and myself, but everybody was unanimously of the opinion that it was too hazardous to attack the enemy in their camp en-

trenched as it now is. We cannot have our canon brought to us by the Scheldt in less than ten days, but when we have them once on our batteries, I believe it will go very quick. We hope the taking of this town will not only be of great use to us if the war continues, but make also the operations of this campaign much more uneasy to the Marshal de Villars.

LORD GODOLPHIN TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

June 27, 1709.

Though it be uncomfortable enough to continue writing while these stormy contrary winds hinder us of the satisfaction of hearing from you, yet believing you are not like to have a time of more leisure during the whole campaign for reading my letters, I shall venture to add to what I had written yesterday, that as it is the humour and natural temper of our people to be but too much elated with their prosperity, so they are full as apt to run into the other extreme upon the least disappointment of their expectations, though never so unreasonable. An instance of this, which one meets almost every day, is that because they had persuaded themselves, in case the French camp could not be attacked, our army was immediately to march into France, they were not at all satisfied with the besieging of Tournay, though the casual weakening

of that garrison made it the most reasonable thing that could be done.

This is carried so far, that what I writ to you of about a month ago of sending bread for the army by sea, is now become every man's thought and talk, a pattern of which you may see in the inclosed letter to my Lord Chancellor, who told me it was from his own chaplain, who it seems had occasion to visit the sea coast of Kent.

By all our late letters from Ireland, I doubt the session of Parliament there is not like to end so well, as one had reason to think from the beginning of it.

Lord Wharton seems to apply himself more to making his court in that country than to please his old friends. In this Somers and Sunderland are not at all shy at shewing their dissatisfaction at his conduct ; whether it be really because it is not in itself without blame, or because they are not unwilling to lay hold of the opportunity, I shall not take upon me to say ; but I incline to think there may be a mixture of both in the present case.

The Queen has fixed next Thursday for her going to Windsor for the rest of this summer.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO LORD GODOLPHEIN.

July 1, 1709.

Since my last I have had the favour of five of yours, for which I return you many thanks. As to

the provisions by sea, which you were so kind as to mention in some of yours, I did in my former letters let you know it would be of great use when we might be able to get to Abbeville.

This siege is of very great consequence if the war is to continue, so that I do not doubt but Monsieur de Villars will do his utmost to force his troops into it. One thousand dragoons came last night to attempt it, but their heart failed them. This place certainly is the best fortified of any in this country, but as we have surprised them with not above half the garrison they should have, I hope we shall succeed at a much cheaper rate than last year at Lisle ; and if we can take it in any seasonable time, you may depend upon it, with the blessing of God, we shall make a very good campaign.

I am of the opinion that you do extremely well in encouraging the war in Spain, but I fear the regiments you send will be of very little use this year ; but I own to you, that I can see no good reason for your complying with the desire of Lord Galway, in the raising of six regiments of dragoons in Portugal, which can never be depended upon, nor of any use but for the subsisting of a few French officers ; nor I believe it was never heard of before, to be at the expence of raising new troops at the end of a war.

Whatever may be pretended, you will find this will cost you a great sum of money ; and when they are on foot, you will be told that they cannot subsist

on English pay ; if one half of this money had been employed in hiring old troops, that might have been of use ; and you may depend on it that the Portuguese have been too often in this war to do anything that may be vigorous.

The Marshal de Villars not having as yet marched from his entrenched camp, we can make no judgment of what he intends ; but we flatter ourselves that this siege has disconcerted his measures, they having provided their magazines towards the sea coast, being persuaded that we should open the campaign by the siege of Ypres. The French letters from Paris of the 24th of the last month, say that orders are given for the marching all the French troops from Spain ; I have not faith enough to believe this, since it is very certain, that those troops cannot come in any reasonable time to the Rhine, nor in this country to do service this campaign ; and in Dauphiné there is so great a scarcity of provision that I should not think they would send them there ; a very little time will let us see the truth.

I must beg you will give my duty to the Queen, and desire of her that she would be pleased to order a commission of Brigadier for the Earl of Orrery, he being the eldest colonel, and a man of quality.

If it can be done without much expence, I shall endeavour to settle a post between Ostend and the

army, but the letters by that way are very uncertain as well by sea as land.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

July 4, 1709.

I received yesterday the favour of yours of the 17th of the last month, and hope it will turn to good account, the care her Majesty has taken for the preventing of corn going to France. Hitherto Monsieur de Villars does not shew any inclinations for quitting his camp, but contents himself with sending several parties, consisting of three and four thousand each, to visit all our posts in hopes of having success on some of them, or of getting some of them into the town, which we hope to prevent, our lines being near finished, on one side of the town, and in three days more we hope to finish the whole. We having notice this afternoon of his having sent ten thousand men to attack seven hundred we have posted at Warinton for the security of the Lys, we have sent two thousand men to strengthen that post, which we hope will come in time for their relief. The great part of our canon is come to Anduar, and on the sixth we intend to open the trenches at three attacks, two on the town, and the third on the citadel.

It grieves my heart to see the sad condition all the poor country people are in for want of bread ;

they have not the same countenances they had in other years.

Our letters from Paris confirm the withdrawing the French troops from Spain; till I see them in France I cannot think it real.

You know I endeavour not to meddle with Scotch affairs, but I can't refuse Lieutenant-General Ross to name his brother; I desire only to know what I may say to him. He would fain have him *Custos Rotulorum* for the county of Ross.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

July 8th, 1709.

I have had the favour of yours of the 19th, which came by the post of the 21st. I shall be very uneasy till I hear you are well. What you mention in the latter part of your letter, I am very sorry for, since a preparation for the next year's campaign is what must bring France to reason, if they can, which as yet I doubt, be able to overcome the difficulties we shall oblige them to undergo this campaign. They are already obliged to take by force the little corn the poor country people have for their subsistence. We shall now, in a very few days, see what measures the Marshal de Villars will take, the troops from the Rhine being come to this frontier. It is said they will

form an army in Brabant; if they do we shall be obliged to do the same. Our troops under the command of Lieutenant General Wilks came time enough for the supporting of Connings and Pontefruct, but that of Warinton surrendered themselves prisoners of war; upon the approach of our troops the French retired.

You will hear that De Rock, our chief engineer, has broke his leg; however, we opened the trenches last night with little or no loss, the enemy not perceiving us till near daylight, so that our men were covered, we having 2500 workmen at each attack.

I have received a very pressing letter from Medina; it is in so bad English, I do not send it, since it would but trouble you. I have directed Cardonnell to write to Medina at the Hague, that he might instruct his son with the vouchers Mr. Lowndes desires by his letter, which Mr. Cardonnell shall answer by this post. Old Medina showed them to me before I sent over the account; he had other pretensions, which are not demanded, his vouchers not being sufficient. I should not trouble you thus much, but that I am really convinced that the account is just, and that these people must be very great sufferers this campaign. The 50,000 pounds mentioned by Mr. Lowndes will be much more than the demands for forage waggons, and all the other extraordinaries for the last campaign;

for the 10,000 pounds that was advanced by Mr. Cartwright the last winter to the Imperial troops, I shall get it repaid, which will be so much money saved.

LORD GODOLPHIN TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

Windsor, July 4-15, 1709.

I received the favour of yours of the 1st, 4th, and 8th of July, before I came from London, but had not time to thank you for them till this post. I am glad to find you continue to have so hopeful an opinion of the siege of Tournay. People were a good deal prejudiced against it here, but if it succeeds in any reasonable time, that will wear off, and we shall be as sanguine as ever, which is but necessary, for unless our credit be not only supported, but even augmented by success abroad, our provision in parliament for the expence of the present year, will fall short before the end of it, by at least 1,200,000*l.* sterling. Now, as to the prospect of success abroad, I hope it is good in Flanders, and would certainly be better, but that the Duke of Savoy uses us like children, as you will see by Mr. Palmes's letters, who, I make no doubt, gives you the same accounts as he does to us here.

Is it reasonable, that for every little quarrel and peevishness with the court of Vienna, he should disappoint all the just expectations of the Queen and the States, after what they have done for him,

and the very great expences they have been at, to put him into a condition of distressing France on that side; and now the opportunity of doing it is even more favourable than himself could have hoped, he is pleased to be sullen, and not to make use of it? France must needs know this temper of his, and they make their detachments accordingly from Alsace to Flanders; and the best construction that can be put upon this behaviour is, that he has a mind to protract the war at other people's expence, and thinks he shall find his account in it. We are here very sensible of this usage, and have spoken very broad to his minister upon it, and I think it would be right for you to do the same to Count Maffei.

Mr. Secretary Boyle will, by this post, send you word of what he has orders to write to Lord Townshend upon this subject, desiring him to get orders sent to the minister of the States at Turin to join with Mr. Palmes there, in representing to that Court, the great uneasiness both of the Queen and the States, at the Duke of Savoy's proceedings, which I hope will have a good effect. I am sure it ought to have it, both for the reason of the thing, and for his own interest, the stronger motive of the two.

As for Spain, Mr. Craggs will have given you an account how things stood there when he left it; but Sir John Jennings' arrival there has so changed and mended all those matters, that if we could have

fair winds to carry our fleet and troops from hence in any time, we might have reason to hope for a good account from that side of the world, especially if your news holds of the French having withdrawn their troops. From Portugal, I agree with you, that we have nothing to expect of advantage, and consequently ought not to be at any more expence than is necessary to keep those people in our alliance, which is so necessary for our trade; and by my Lord Galway's last letters from thence, of which I will desire my Lord Sunderland to send you a copy, he seems fully of the same opinion.

I shall take care of your commands in relation to Medina and the Comte de Velez's letter. I have spoken to the Queen of what you desire for the Earl of Orrery, though I don't well know how you come to desire it. She will give her commands to Mr. Walpole in that matter, as soon as she sees him.

Designing to go to-morrow for two or three days into Wiltshire, you are not like to be troubled with any letter from me by the next post. The truth is, this is sufficient for two or three posts.

In the hand of the Duchess.—This letter was writ by Lord Treasurer before he went from Windsor; I have sent your packet of the 10th of July after him to Salisbury, where he is gone to see his horses.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

July 18th, 1709.

I shall write to you by this night's post by Holland, which I think may be as soon with you as this by Mr. Craggs. I find by him and Mr. Stanhope, that they have no great opinion of the King of Spain's gratitude to the Queen and England for the great expences they have been at. I am apt to believe they may have reason, but the circumstances of the King of Spain are such, that his interest will always oblige him to endeavour to be well with the Queen. So that this proposal, which is now sent by 202 (Mr. Craggs), if it be thought good for England, he must comply with it, though I believe you will find the Count de Gallas make difficulties.

By a letter I have received from 62 (the Pensioner) I see he is of opinion that we certainly shall have peace this winter, if the necessities augment in France, as we are assured they must be necessitated to comply with our demands, otherwise I own to you I do not like 62 insisting upon the leaving out the article in the project of the barrier for the entire monarchy of Spain, and I hope the Queen will not comply with so unreasonable a desire; for King Charles would have just reason to take such a compliance as a neglect of his interest, nor do I believe the Parliament would approve of such a condescension. I have written to the Pensioner as

you desired for ships to be before Dunkirk ; but I do not expect it should have any success, since they are persuaded that if the French are able to put any ships to sea, they will be employed for the bringing of corn.

I see by your last letters the reasons for your apprehending a descent in Scotland ; but the circumstances of France are such, that you are in less danger of being attacked this summer than at any time when you have a peace. Besides I have a man there that will give early notice if they make any preparations, so that I am confident you may be at ease.

I enclose the King of Spain's letter, by which you will see that he does not entirely admit of my excusing myself from the acceptance of this government. As I would not make any answer before I have the Queen's leave, so I conjure you as a friend with all duty to represent it so to her Majesty, that my resolutions are such that I cannot accept of this government. Besides, should I continue in so great a station, it might give an opportunity to my enemies to be censuring my actions, which, with the Queen's leave, I shall endeavour for the rest of my life to avoid by not meddling in any public business, but where her personal concern may require it.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

July 25th, 1709.

I have received the favour of yours from Tilsit of the 6th. The great quantity of waters which this garrison are masters of, gives us great trouble now that we should pass the fosse, so that our being masters of the town is retarded for some days.

The Marshal de Villars having received his reinforcement from Germany, has made a march towards Valenciennes, in order to cover that place, and to give some hopes to Tournay, as if he had thoughts of relieving them. It is believed here, that if the Elector of Hanover will act as soon as he joins the army on the Rhine, that the French will be obliged to send some troops from hence, but I do not flatter myself with such hopes, believing the enemy does not much value what can be done on that side. Besides, they cannot but see the little intention there is of acting with vigour, since we are now at the end of July, and the army there has made no motion, though they are three times as strong as the enemy.

I received yesterday, by express, the enclosed from the Pensioner. The object he mentions is the marching four or five thousand men into Franche Comté, where the Emperor has had intelligence for some years, and Prince Eugene is persuaded that it will succeed. I am of the Pensioner's opinion, that care must be taken not to let any part of this

money be employed for any other use than that of the Franche Comté, so that I propose to him that the money should be lodged in such hands as should be named by her Majesty and the States. Whatever we can do for the strengthening the Duke of Lorraine is certainly right, for that is the barrier we ought to have on that side of France, but I apprehend the States will not so heartily engage as they ought, for they will not make any step that may make the negotiation of peace more difficult, at least these are my apprehensions.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE EARL OF
SUNDERLAND.

July the 26th, 1709.

I have had the favour of yours of the 5th, with the copy of Lord Galway's letter of the 24th of the last month. I think his reasoning is very just. I am also of opinion with you, that the disturbances in France give a great occasion to the Duke of Savoy of doing good to his personal interest as well as to the public. As he is a Prince that knows very well what he does, I may own to you, that it gives me very uneasy thoughts, not that I think he has any dealings with France, but that he may think it his interest to lengthen the war.

You will see by what I write to Lord Treasurer, that it is a misfortune the Elector was not on the Rhine the beginning of this month, since that time

would have been the best time for the attempt of the Franche Comté; the enemy having no troops on that side, and the people as you know very well inclined for us. Not only on this occasion, but when we treat of peace, I should think it very much for the interest of the allies to strengthen the Duke of Lorraine, for that would be a good barrier on that side. As for our siege, the nearer we get to the fosse, the more difficulty we find, so that we must have patience. The Marshal de Villars having received the detachment from the Rhine, and knowing the impossibility of our being able to march till we are masters of the town, he is come with his army between the Scarpe and the Skell, having left ten thousand men in his lines of La Basseé, where the militia of the Boullonnois is expected.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

July 30, 1709.

I gave you an account last night of the town of Tournay capitulating. The Prince of Savoy and I signed at ten o'clock last night, to-morrow night we are to begin the continuation of our attack against the citadel. My Lord Albemarle has the command of Tournay.

I am assured that Monsieur de Guichon, who was with Monsieur de Torcy at the Hague, came the 24th of this month to the Hague, and returned the next day for Paris. As I have received letters of

the same date from Lord Townshend and the Pensioner, which make no mention of him, I should not believe it, but that it comes from one I ought to believe; but I believe you may depend upon it, that the misery of France, and the inclinations of the Dutch are such, that if it be possible to find any expedient for the easing of the thirty-first article, it will be done, for they will have peace; but I fear it may be such a one as may occasion a very great expense for the next year, both to England and the Dutch. We are now told that the Elector of Hanover will be on the Rhine by the 8th of the next month. If they had begun to have acted sooner, it might have been of some use; but as the enemy have now drawn all the troops they think proper from thence, I suppose they have taken their resolution of letting him eat what forage he pleases. By the French letters of yesterday, we see that the Duke of Berwick is not as yet much alarmed at the motions of the Duke of Savoy's army.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

Aug. 1, 1709.

We begun last night the construction of our attack against the citadel, and in three or four days we shall change our camp, which will be towards Orchies, by which we shall cover the siege and be nearer the French lines. We have no letters but what continue to speak of the misery in France. However, I do not yet hear that any answer is given

to the Pensioner's letters, by which I think it plain that nothing but the necessity of starving will oblige them to consent to the preliminaries. I should be glad to know what answer the Queen has received from the King of Spain, as to the barrier; for by the discourse the Count de Zinzendorff held when at Brussels, I have reason to believe there will be opposition in that matter, he being empowered and instructed from the King of Spain. I hope the Queen will approve of my having let Mr. Palmes know that I think it more for her Majesty's service that he should lose no time in joining the Duke of Savoy's army, in order to press them to enter on action, than to continue in this season at Milan. I have none of yours since my last.

LORD GODOLPHIN TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

Aug. 4, 1709.

I have none of yours to acknowledge since my last, nor no hopes of them, as the wind is at present. My political reflections are all exhausted in my two last letters by Ostend and by Holland, so I write these two lines that you may not think me either negligent or lazy.

I wish you good success very heartily in the war, or in the peace, and I hope it will be in the latter; without it all will fall to pieces here next winter. If we can get it upon the foot of the preliminary treaty, everybody of all sides would really be pleased with it. But even, in that case, Harley and his

emissaries would say you might have what terms you would, as they did when they thought the preliminaries agreed to. And if it should prove, in any one article, less to our advantage, they would say you might have had better, but that you had a mind to protract the war.

In short, their language is all the same with a little French book which M. de Cardonnell did me the favour to send me over by the last post but one, and is, one or other, the most impudent as well as most impertinent thing that ever I saw in print, which is saying a proud word.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

Orchies, Aug. 6, 1709.

In yours of the 15th, by Ostend, you desire to be informed which came first. Though the winds were very contrary, that of the same date, by Holland, came first; but there must have been some negligence or mistake in that of yours by Ostend, for that by Collins of the 22nd, I had one day sooner, though they both came by Ostend.

We marched to this place the day before yesterday, and by the uneasiness Monsieur de Villars seems to be in by his perpetual marches and countermarches, I hope he will find it very difficult to preserve his lines at La Bassée, and, at the same time, to hinder us from making the siege of Valenciennes, as he now pretends. I am going this morning to Tournay, to

receive the King of France's answer concerning the citadel. I find by the Pensioner's letter, which I received last night, that he begins to be of opinion that the French will, if possible, defer the renewing the negotiation till the end of the campaign.

I have assured him that we will do all in our power to bring them to a battle, but I think they will do their utmost to avoid it. He should begin early to prepare the States to consent to the same state of war we had this year, for till that is done, the French will flatter themselves that the intentions of the States is to have peace before the next campaign. If the French do, as I think they will, put us to this expence, we ought to make them pay for it; and if we should have a peace, the money given might be employed to paying of debts.

Mr. Neville and his two sons have been here some days. I could wish the whole House of Commons were with them, believing in the winter they would not then be so ready to find faults.

Mr. Walpole has not sent me the Earl of Orrery's commission of Brigadier; but upon your letting me know the Queen's pleasure, I have declared him. My reason of writing for him was his being a man of quality and the eldest Colonel.

The King of France refuses to agree to the articles for the surrender of the citadel, unless we shall consent to a general cessation of arms in this country till the 5th of the next month, which time he said

might be employed in negotiating the peace. As this was neither in our power nor inclinations, we are going on with our attacks.

LORD GODOLPHIN TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

St. James's, July 26-Aug. 6, 1709.

Not having any of yours to acknowledge since mine by the Dutch post, and another of the same date by Collins, who went by Ostend, I shall begin to trouble you in this letter with the account of a conversation I had last Sunday, at Windsor, with my Lord Somers, who spoke very freely to me of many things. Among others, he told me he had newly had a good deal of talk with an old acquaintance of his,* to whom Harley used to tell as much of his mind as to anybody, and that having lately seen him, Harley had said enough to him to let him see plainly what were the schemes and designs of himself and of the Tories when Parliament met. In the first place, he laid it down for a foundation, that you and I were absolutely against peace, and resolved not to admit of it on any terms, which he would insinuate was very demonstrable two or three years since, and now lately there had been great proofs given in confirmation of his knowledge in that matter.

That he did not doubt but that the King of France would yet be able to fence so this summer as to hinder your hopes of making peace agree-

* Possibly Lord Rivers.

able to England, if those were your hopes. But, for his own part, he was persuaded you were as fond of war as was possible, or otherwise you had it lately in your power to have put an end to it at once, and a time would come when that matter would require a strict examination; but for that reason, as well as many others, they must have peace at any rate; for there was no attacking of ministers, no naming mal-administrations of any kind, while war was in being, because that was too great a weight upon them that did it, to struggle with, as they had already found more than once, by their own experience, and therefore, they must now force the Queen into peace, by refusing necessaries for war, and by agreeing with Holland in everything that relates to peace; and in case the King of France can but be so as he hoped, that peace should not, in the mean time, be to the liking of England, then to impute that to you and me, but chiefly the latter, from which he said they could never get off.

I did agree with Lord Somers, that this relation of Harley's scheme was very probable, but I hope you will every way be able to disappoint it.

I troubled you by the last post, in my letter by Holland, and also in that by Collins the messenger, so very fully upon the subject of the peace, that I need not add to it in this, but just to repeat, that in case there should be a plain necessity of ceasing hostilities against France, without any certainty

when we shall have possession of Spain, I think we ought to take the best measures we can, even before the winter comes, for pressing of Spain on all sides. And I am not in my opinion very different from the notions of my Lord Galway upon that subject, which you will find in the enclosed letters from him to yourself and to me, which I received last Sunday at Windsor.

Lord Polworth, son to the Earl of Marchmont, who has a regiment of dragoons in Scotland, is now at the bath for recovery of his health, and has so little hopes of it, so as ever to be able to serve with his regiment, that he is extremely desirous to part with it to the Duke of Roxburghe's brother, Mr. Kerr, who is indeed a very pretty young gentleman.

I am very much pressed, both by Somers and Sunderland, to write to you of this, and to desire your favour and assistance in it. And so far I agree with them, that this would be a great obligation to the Duke of Roxburghe, and also that it would be right to oblige him before winter, because I think we probably may have more sincere assistance from him than we are like to have from others of his countrymen who have found much more favour, and yet who certainly will help Harley and the Tories as much as they can, underhand, if not above-board.

I know not what engagements you may be under, or what difficulties this proposal may bring upon

you, but I should be glad to know your thoughts of it when you are fully at leisure.

I had almost forgot to tell you that I don't know whether very much weight ought to be laid upon Monsieur Guichon's being at the Hague for a day, though you had not any notice of it from the Pensioner or Lord Townshend. He might be sent to Petham or somebody else, and they knew not, or heard not of him till he was gone ; but I may be mistaken, and if really there be still any underhand trickings with the States, I will venture to be very positive in my opinion, that it were much better the negotiations should be publicly renewed and carried on, provided hostilities do not cease, till France has actually complied with such parts of the preliminary treaty as are unquestionably within her power, and given all the satisfaction for what is not in her power, as the matter is capable of. X

LORD GODOLPHIN TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

St. James's, Aug. 9, 1709.

We have now three posts due from Holland; and the winds continue so cross that I don't know when we may hope for the satisfaction of hearing from you.

Monsieur de Ligonde, a French prisoner, who had leave somet ime since to go to France, came over last week in a boat from Boulogne, and reports that the French Court had agreed to the capitulation for Tournay, which I hope is true, because

you seemed very desirous in your last letter that they should do so.

I don't exactly remember what you said to me before you went away, about 10 (Lord Rivers) and his pretensions. He is extremely busy all this time in endeavouring to make them succeed, and extremely dangerous at all times, as you well know ; and considering how he imposes on a great man who is a friend of ours, and means to continue so, unless he be made jealous and uneasy by Lord Rivers, I have been sometimes of opinion it would be best to send him out of the way, where 2 (Lord Galway) is now, and has pressed this good while for his return ; so that Lord Galway would like it, and Lord Rivers, nor nobody else, could ever get any credit there. However, I would not make any steps in this till I know your thoughts of it. I own to you my own are, that, which way soever this turns, he will do a great deal of mischief if he stays here ; and whatever professions he has made to you, or does now underhand make to me, I am of opinion he is at bottom entirely with Harley, *for birds of a feather flock together*. When all this is said, there will yet be a necessity of managing him, in some degree, or else his friend, whom he imposes upon, will perhaps be so simple as to fly out and keep no measures, which would have its inconveniences at this time.

LORD GODOLPHIN TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

Windsor, Aug. 11, 1709.

Yesterday I received the favour of yours of the 6th, by Ostend, in answer to mine of the 31st of July, but the former letters you mention in it, which I suppose went by Holland, are not yet arrived, there being to-morrow four posts due from thence. This is another instance of the advantage of sending by Ostend, as the winds may happen, for we have now fresh news from your army, though, at the same time, the want of four posts from Holland keep us wholly ignorant of what passes in Savoy, Italy, Spain, or any other parts of the world ; but by late letters from Colonel Wade, at Lisbon, as also by some hints in some former letters from France, to the same sense, it looks as if the designs of the King of France's nephew, the Duke of Orleans, which we could scarce give any credit to last year, were now all likely to come abroad into the world. If this should prove so, I should think that ought to make a foul house in more places than one.

I find the Queen is very much inclined to be of Lady Marlborough's mind upon the subjects of yours of the 16th, and indeed in everything relating to King Charles ; but at the same time, I must tell you, that Lord Townshend and Lord Somers, and most of those who are like to have the consideration of this matter, are directly of another opinion.

As for myself, I think your arguments are unanswerable ; however, this thing has been already so much pressed by Lord Townshend, and in the name of the Pensioner, that it is with a good deal of difficulty that I have been able to give it any delay, and I expect all those instances should be as strong as ever upon the arrival of the four posts which are now due.

Upon the whole, we must pray heartily for your good success abroad, for at home I begin to be sensible we are to expect all the same difficulties next winter which we struggled with in the last, and from the same people.

The Earl of Mar is going next week to drink the waters at Aix-la-Chapelle, as he tells me, for his health : he talks of going by Ostend, and of waiting upon you at the army. I believe he is likely enough to make you a great many professions, and, if they were sincere, I should think them as valuable as from most men of his country ; but I must also let you know, that he is thought to be very deeply engaged with the Tories, and particularly with Harley, by alliance, as well as by inclination. If he speaks to you in such a manner as you think you may rely upon, it may be of great use ; but after what I have already told you, you yourself will be the best judge of that, by the air and manner of his speaking to you. He has the general character of a man of honour.

I am very glad to hear the Dutch East India

ships are come home safe, and I should now hope they will be easier in letting some of their men-of-war watch the corn vessels coming from the northward to France, or at least help us to hinder them from going into Dunkirk. Our Ostend letters tell us they are working very hard at Dunkirk, in order to remove the ships and stores in that port to Havre-de-Grace. I think this can hardly be literally true, but I should be glad to be certainly informed what they really are doing there.

LORD GODOLPHIN TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

Windsor, Sunday, Aug. 14, 1709.

I received here last night the favour of four letters from you at the same time, of the 8th, the 12th, the 15th, and the 19th, with all the several letters and papers enclosed in them.

My Lord Townshend's letters to Mr. Secretary by the same posts give an account of the substance of Monsieur de Torcy's letter to the Pensioner and also of his answer, which seems to be a very right one; but still I find Lord Townshend is of opinion that the negotiations being again renewed, though but in this manner, they will not break off any more till the preliminaries for a peace are agreed on both sides; by what Mr. Secretary will be ordered to write by this post in answer to my Lord Townshend's letters, you will see the opinion of the Queen and her council is that, if 116 (the States) cannot be kept from renewing negotiations upon the offer

from France of giving the cautionary towns in Flanders only, yet at least it ought to be insisted on, that these towns be named by the allies, and no cessation of arms till all be executed that is agreed to be done in Flanders; that is to say, the Dutch put into the actual possession of these towns, and the allies so far put into the possession of Dunkirk, as to be sure of its immediate demolition.

Now, these things being once agreed to be done, I shall only add my opinion, that it is extremely desirable for us they should be done as soon as may be, so that the Queen may be able to speak upon certainties to the Parliament, when that time comes, or otherwise things will run into a strange confusion; and I am inclined to think we shall have more difficulty to prosecute the war another year, considering the little disposition to it in Holland, than we shall find in justifying peace upon the foot of the preliminaries, though with no other security than France is able to give, provided we can say to the Parliament that Dunkirk is demolished, Newfoundland yielded, and a treaty made with the States and the emperor for the immediate reducing of Spain by force. And I agree entirely with you, that probably it will not require much time to reduce Spain, when the Spaniards find themselves quite abandoned by France, and no longer able to keep their monarchy from being most miserably divided and broken, but by acknowledging King Charles the Third.

Now, as to the matter depending about the treaty for the succession and barrier, I find by all Lord Townshend's letters, that he continues not only firm but warm in his opinion directly contrary to yours ; and he is very positive that the Pensioner and all those that are well-intentioned will get the better of 61 and that party, if they can be able to give them this instance that the friendship of the Queen and England is more to be depended upon than any other, and that this will certainly take away the great handle by which 61 and his party gather strength in Holland, instead of adding more strength to them, as you in your letters seem to think it will.

I must own I think there is a good deal to be said for both these opinions, and therefore am very far from taking upon myself to determine which of them is most right ; but as I very much wish the question might not come to bear, so I am in great hopes the renewing of the negotiations for the peace may make it the less necessary, and by consequence abate a great deal of the warmth with which it seems to be expressed, especially when Lord Townshend shall, as he will be ordered to do by this post, begin to press the States to enter into new measures for reducing Spain, in view of not being able to keep them from accepting such a security as France pretends she is only able to give.

You say nothing more in your letters of the ad-

vantage obtained in Savoy ; if that blow were well followed, I should think nothing more likely to make France leave off all their chicanery about the peace, and come presently to the point, and for the reasons I have already given in this letter, that if peace does not come before the Parliament, the entire communication and correspondence between Harley and 61 will certainly force us to a worse.

Our fleet and troops are still kept in Torbay by contrary winds; the same winds would serve to carry them to the coast of Picardy, if you had any occasion for them there; but I doubt that time is not so near as I could wish.

The Czar's victory is so confirmed from all hands, that I think it can be no longer doubted. Those northern princes, whom the King of Sweden has kept so long in awe, will now be soon very troublesome, if timely measures be not concerted betwixt England and Holland to hinder any novelty in those parts.

I design to send this letter to-morrow by Ostend, being desirous you should have it as soon as may be, that you may lose no time in considering with Prince Eugene what assistance it may be reasonable for the emperor to give towards the recovery of Spain.

The French letters of the 16th say King Charles was very ill; that would be a great *contretemps*. If the Elector of Hanover does but keep the French from making any detachments from Alsace to op-

pose the army of the allies in Savoy, it is all I can bring myself to expect from him.

Mr. Walpole will send you Lord Orrery's commission ; but he seems to think there are several elder colonels.

LORD GODOLPHIN TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

Windsor, Aug. 18th, at night, 1709.

The wind has been east all this day, and I expect to-morrow the two posts, which will then be due from Holland, but they can't possibly come hither time enough for me to acknowledge them by this post.

We have had here for some time a project for an expedition from Jamaica into the Spanish West Indies ; the chief difficulty is to bring together landmen enough to that island for this undertaking. The confirmation which we have just now received of my Lord Lovelace's death gives us a thought that if the two governments of New York and New England were joined together, and a good governor immediately sent thither with instructions for that purpose, he might be able to get a considerable body of men together to join with those in the Island of Jamaica, and two regiments from hence, which are all that can be spared.

The man we have in our thoughts, if you approve of the scheme and of him, is Colonel Hunter, who is Lord Orkney's deputy governor in Virginia, and if his Lordship would in that case appoint Mac-

cartney to go to Virginia in Hunter's place, it would be an act of great charity and compassion ; for all that the Duke of Somerset and I could say together the other day in his behalf, we could not get the Queen to say she would ever employ him again.

I had this morning a visit from Colonel Sutton, who gave me the satisfaction of telling me he had left you in perfect health ; but I find by what he said to me of Lord Orrery's being declared a brigadier, he had hopes of that favour from you at the same time. I think him a very good-natured man, and very well affectioned to you ; and this last is a quality that ought to be encouraged.

I am glad you have had the Mr. Nevilles with you ; and I wish as you do, that the whole House of Commons took their turns at the citadel of Tournay. I am apt to believe they would be much tamer creatures when they came back again.

Considering how much I have troubled you of late, I am afraid I take up too much of your time.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

Aug. 29, 1709.

Nothing having happened since mine of the 16th by Ostend, I have nothing to write other than that Prince Eugene and myself thought it for the service to stay some days longer than we intended at Tournay, to hasten if possible the attacks. We have now received letters of the 30th of the last

month from Warsaw, with the particulars of the defeat of the Swedish army. These letters say that all are taken or killed, except the king and three hundred horse. King Augustus, as it is said, was to leave Dresden on the 15th ; and it is generally thought that he will meet with very little resistance. We shall now have time enough for the taking of such measures as may be thought proper for the keeping the balance in the north. I send you the Pensioner's letter, by which you will see that he thinks it absolutely necessary that the ministers at the Hague should have full powers, and there can be no doubt for the good of the service it ought to be so ; and as for myself, I think Lord Townshend and I have full powers, but I believe the difficulty now arises from Mr. Secretary's expression on the first letter from Monsieur de Torcy, in which he acquainted Lord Townshend that the Queen might reasonably expect to have been acquainted with that letter, before any answer should have been returned.

Lord Townshend and myself shall think ourselves both safe and happy if our actions may be guided by the Queen's commands ; but then the objection of the Pensioner will subsist, and of consequence all the delays that may happen to the advancing the peace will be laid at the door of England, which may be of ill consequence in Holland.

We have just now received the letters from England of the 2nd. By the copy of Mr. Secretary's

letter to Lord Townshend, I see her Majesty has been advised to leave it in the power of Lord Townshend to conclude the barrier without stipulating anything for the entire monarchy of Spain or the demolishing of Dunkirk. Not being upon the place, I must not pretend to judge, but from my heart I wish it may meet with no ill consequences ; for most certainly there is a very great party in Holland that thinks it their interest to give some part of Spain to the Duke of Anjou, and I am afraid the same party are of opinion that the demolishing of Dunkirk is more for the interest of England than theirs.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

August 22, 1709.

I have this day received two letters from the Duke de Albe and Comte de Berwick ; they are of that consequence that I send the originals to Mr. Secretary, in order to lay before the Queen and cabinet, so that I may receive her commands. I do not doubt their having written to the same effect into Holland. However, I have sent copies to Lord Townshend, and desired him to communicate them to the Pensioner and Comte Zinzendorff.

I have, this minute, received yours of the 5th, and by what you say of Harley and his adherents, that they will find fault should it be peace or war, I must be careful of my own behaviour, which I shall be ; but that must not, nor shall hinder me

from doing everything that I shall think advantageous to the Queen and my country, for if I have quiet in my own mind, I can easily condemn all his villanous projects. I find, also, by yours of the 5th, that you have a great mind to peace. I do verily think it will be this winter; but it would have been with more advantage to England if you had not given those last orders concerning the entire monarchy.

Colonel Hunter's friends have desired me to write to you in his favour. He is a very honest man, and a good officer.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

August 26, 1709.

The letters of the 5th came so late that I had not time to read the papers and project from Portugal sent me by Mr. Secretary.

I did always think the attempt on Cadiz, as proposed, very impracticable; but the project now proposed for Vigo might be reasonable at the beginning of a war, but very improper at this time, when we should make efforts for the ending of the war, which, in my opinion, will never be effected in that country till the army in Catalonia, and that in Portugal, be in such a condition as that they may both march the nearest way to Madrid; for if we shall think of forming projects for the reducing of the provinces of Spain, the war is likely to last much longer than I shall live. If the preliminaries

with France were agreed to the satisfaction of the allies, and as I have formerly written to you, that a treaty might be made between the Emperor, the Queen, and Holland, for the carrying on the war in Spain with vigour, I cannot see how it could last six months, and the expence could not be considerable, considering the troops we have already there, and as the remainder of the French must be recalled. But I am told, that in England this is thought a continuation of the war, and a giving time to France to recover, so that whilst there are such devils as Harley in the world, it is dangerous for honest men to give their opinion; but to you and the Queen I shall always, as long as I am in business, give mine freely; and I confess I cannot but be of opinion that if the war should be continued for some time longer, we shall at last be obliged to go to the expence of reducing Spain, for I do not think it in the power of the French King or his ministers to oblige the Spaniards and the Duke of Anjou to submit to the preliminaries.

How far Holland may continue firm to me I have my doubts, notwithstanding what is written by Lord Townshend to Mr. Boyle. I must also continue of opinion, that when the States shall be acquainted with the orders Lord Townshend has received, that he will find them every day more unreasonable in their demands.

I wish I may be mistaken, for I have no wish but the Queen and my country's service, but I am afraid

I shall live to see this proceeding found fault with, since in all probability Holland will not be contented unless they obtain some advantage on our trade.

An officer from the Czar's army is this afternoon come with letters and the relation of the late victory to the Prince of Savoy and myself. He left the Czar twelve days after the action.

I send to Mr. Secretary a copy of my letter from the Czar's favourite and general, with the relation of the whole, so that I shall not trouble you with repeating, but cannot avoid telling you, that the particular account the officer gives me is so terrible, that having once seen the King of Sweden, I am extremely touched with the misfortune of this young King. His continued successes, and the contempt he had of his enemies, has been his ruin.

The Pensioner writes me word, that by the end of this week he expects an answer to his letter. I believe this answer will not ease the difficulties, but before the winter they will be obliged to speak plain.

I have this minute had a letter from Lieutenant-General Ingoldsby. His request of being one of the Justices when Lord Wharton comes for England is very reasonable, and I am sure for the Queen's service, that he who has the honour to command her Majesty's troops should be one; however, if the Queen's pleasure be not known, I am afraid the Lord-Lieutenant will not name him,

which makes me give you this trouble, hearing that Lord Wharton has leave to come for England

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

Tournay, August 31, 1709.

This morning at seven o'clock the enemy beat the chamade, but the cessation of arms continued only four hours. We, considering what had passed, and the certain knowledge we have of their want of provisions, would allow them no capitulation but that of prisoners of war, at which they are extremely angry, and say they will defend themselves to the last extremity. I believe seven or eight days will put an end to it.

I hear there is one of the Duke of Argyle's officers in his troop of guards that is like to die; if he should, I desire you will put her Majesty in mind of her promise to Mr. Lumley, who is here, and behaves himself very well. The best way to avoid solicitation is for the Queen to give her orders to Mr. Walpole as soon as the vacancy happens.

The situation of this country is such, that Prince Eugene and myself think it impossible to force the Marshal to a battle, so we are taking our measures for another siege, though de Roch and Dumay are both in a condition of not acting.

I send Mr. Secretary a copy of the capitulations the enemy desired, which is very different from that which they must accept of, which will lessen

the number of their King's troops of twelve regiments.

The man which I have at Dunkirk sends me the inclosed paper, which I have sent to the Governor of Ostend ; he assures me at the same time, that they are in no condition of giving the least jealousy to England or Scotland.

As yet I know not the particulars of the answer which came to the Pensioner on Wednesday last, as Mr. Walpole writes to Cardonnell ; but as I have nothing from Lord Townshend nor the Pensioner, I believe there is nothing very deciding in it, which is occasioned by the hopes the King of France has that the Dutch will be brought to do something for 45 (the Duke of Anjou).

You will certainly have an account from Lord Townshend by his letters of the 30th, of Monsieur de Torcy's letter, and I beg by the first post I may know what your thoughts are of it, for whatever my private opinion may be, I shall act just as the Queen would have me. Pray despatch Mr. Craggs for Barcelona.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

Sept. 3, 1709.

I have this morning received yours of the 14th and 19th of the last month by Ostend, by which I see the warmth of Lord Townshend and his party. I pray God they may be in the right ; if other-

wise, the fault will be laid to the charge of you and me.

Lord Townshend has sent me the copy of his letter of the 30th to Mr. Secretary, so that I need not give you any account of the answer they have made to Monsieur de Torcy's letter, which I think is as right as one could expect, for depend upon it, they will never quit this negotiation, and notwithstanding the assurances there is a very great party that thinks it their interest to give some part of the monarchy of Spain to the Duke of Anjou.

We have from the French army the ill news of General Meray's being beaten, which if true, we have not only lost seven thousand men, but also our expectations of the Franche Comté.

We are now in possession of one of the gates of the citadel ; for the conditions I must refer you to the capitulation which I send to Mr. Secretary. We march this night if possible, in order to invest Mons before they put any more troops into it ; not having been able to surprise St. Ghislaix, we are obliged to march five leagues about, which may prove of advantage to the enemy. I am very glad you have sent orders to Lord Townshend for the pressing of the Pensioner and Count Zinzendorff, that the method and proportions for the carrying on the war with Spain might be immediately settled, for that will put the Queen more at ease ; for should that war be carried on without such a treaty, the greatest part of the expence would be left to her.

The reason of my never mentioning the business of Savoy is, that I fear nothing considerable will be done there this year.

I find by yours of the 14th, as well as a former letter, that you are of opinion, that the affairs of England require peace, and yet all the orders to Lord Townshend are full of obstructions. All my hopes are that France is in so miserable a condition, that when you shall insist only on what is in her power, she must comply. I am entirely of your opinion, that you should by no means oppose what is pressed by Lord Townshend; but I beg to desire you will do nothing of yourself, but to let 97 (the Whigs) be answerable.

I send you Lady Sophia Bulkeley's answer, which is more reasonable than I did expect.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

Sept. 7, 1709.

Since my last I have had the favour of yours of the 18th, by the Dutch mail.

Colonel Hunter, whom you mention for the West Indies, is a very good man; as to the expedition itself, it is impossible for me to give any judgment; but I know that my Lord Halifax and Lord Somers, by the judgment of some merchants, are made very fond of such expeditions. I do not remember anything that has hitherto ever served for anything but a pretext to plunder. I should think the care of the Queen and you should be not to run

the government in debt, since that is what must put you in the power of parties.

We have had a continual march ever since the second of this month, with very great rains, which have been very troublesome, but I thank God we are now masters of these lines, so that we are masters of making the siege of Mons, but as our cannon must come from Tournay to Brussels by water, and afterwards by land to this place, it will be near the 20th before we shall get them hither, so that we shall employ part of this time in making our lines, and if we can, with our field train, take St. Ghislaix. The Marshal de Villars has his left towards Valenciennes, and his right towards Maubeuge. I forgot to tell you in my last, that I think it would give the faction occasion of talking, if the Queen should at this time allow the Marshal de Tallard leave to go for France, as is desired by Monsieur de Torcy. I believe you may depend upon it, before the meeting of Parliament, I shall be able to let you know how far you may depend upon peace.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

Sept. 11, N. S. 1709.

The English post of the 26th is come, but I have not strength to do anything but that of letting you know we have had this day a very murdering battle. God has blessed us with a victory; we having first beaten their foot and then their horse. If Holland

pleases, it is now in our power to have what peace we please, and I have the happiness of being pretty well assured that this is the last battle I shall be in, so that I may end my days in some quietness, and have the satisfaction of your company.

Mr. Graham, this bearer, is a very brave man, and one of my aide-de-camps ; he will give you an account of the action ; and I think you should give him five hundred pounds.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

Sept. 13, N. S. 1709.

Since mine of the 11th by Mr. Graham, I have hardly had time to sleep, being tormented by the several nations for care to be taken of their wounded. The French have never, during this war, fought so well as this time, so that vast numbers of their officers, as well as soldiers, are wounded and killed, there being little or no quarter given in the wood on our right of either side. We had eighty battalions in that wood, and I believe they had more. The battle is extremely glorious for the arms of the allies, but our loss is very considerable. The enemy had not only the advantage of the ground, but they had also two entrenchments, one behind the other, in the wood, and a very good entrenchment before their horse, with openings at every two hundred paces through which we passed, having first made ourselves masters of their line, in which we posted seventeen battalions, all the rest being engaged on

the right and left. Our left was the Dutch troops only, who behaved themselves extremely well, but could not force the enemy's retrenchments, so that their effort has suffered more than any other nation. The King of France's household troops charged twice, so that they must have suffered very much. I believe there never was a battle in which there has been so many killed and wounded as in this, for there are very few prisoners, considering the greatness of this action. If the Queen be pleased to order the thanksgiving day late in October, it may so happen that I may be at it, for I cannot but believe Monsieur de Torcy will make new applications at the Hague, which, if they do, her Majesty may command me over for a fortnight.

I send by this post, a letter to Lord Sunderland, and another to yourself from Lord Stanhope. I received them in the heat of the battle, but could not read them till this morning. By the management they have there I see no hopes of success, for they follow no one project, but they undertake every thing and finish nothing, which, in the management of a war, is very dangerous.

I have such an inward heat, that I have no skin upon my lips, which is extremely troublesome. The Prince of Savoy gave me the enclosed this afternoon, and at the same time was very desirous of writing to the Emperor for his consent, not doubting of the Queen's paying the troops as desired. If you give them any ease in this matter, you must

not expect that they will ever be brought to send any troops, but such as you pay. I think you should take this occasion when the Comte de Gallas speaks, to let him know that the Queen can go no further than giving her proportion as the Emperor and the Dutch, and at the same time to let him know that the quickest means of obtaining troops will be to conclude the treaty which Lord Townshend has orders to propose to the Pensioner and Comte de Zinzendorff. *N.*

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

Sept. 16, N. S. 1709.

Since my last, I have had none from you, and ever since the battle I have had so continual a headache, that I am extremely uneasy, so that I write as little as possible. You will, without doubt, have had an account from Lord Townshend of Monsieur de Torcy's letter, by which you will see there was need of this action. Monsieur de Wacherbach, who is minister to King Augustus, was with me this morning to communicate his letters of the last post, which were full of expressions and respect to the Queen, which he desired I might represent to her Majesty, which I beg you will do.

I see by Lord Townshend's letter, that the Pensioner thinks it very advisable that the Queen and the States should send each a minister to King Augustus. I agree entirely with him, but it should not be Mr. Robinson, for with justice that court will

consider him as one too much inclined for the Swedes ; so that he would have no credit, and consequently do no good, so that I think you should gratify Mr. Robinson in letting him stay in England and name some other for this commission. The instructions should not be given till the end of the campaign, for by that time we shall know what success he has in Poland, as well as our own circumstances. My head makes me so uneasy that I can write no more.

Lord Mar, believing this battle will make everything easy this winter in England, begs you will obtain the Queen's leave for him to continue this winter abroad. I think him a very honest man, so that I hope the Queen will be pleased to allow of his request.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

Sept. 19, N. S. 1709.

For eight days before the battle of Taisniere, we were in perpetual motion, and ever since I have been extremely disordered, so that I am not sure if I have given you an account of my having told the Prince of Friese that I was commanded by her Majesty to make him a compliment in return to what he had said concerning the jewels. I think the Queen should answer his letter and send it to me, but not give him the title of Orange, for that would anger the King of Prussia. I will take care the young man may not take it ill ; it might be in-

sinuated in the letter that I might bring the jewels when I return to England, for they cannot be delivered till he goes to the Hague, which will be at the same time with me.

I have sent for some spa waters, in order to drink them this next week, if I can get time. I have sent by this post to Mr. Secretary a copy of a letter sent me from the Elector of Hanover, by which you will see that the man left by Sir Philip Meadows at Vienna is a rogue. The Elector has sent the original to the Emperor. By the letters I have received from Italy, I find the Duke of Savoy's army will undertake nothing more this year, and that of Germany has no thoughts of doing anything, so that the French have already ordered troops from the Rhine.

HENRY ST. JOHN TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

Bucklebury, Sept. 8, O. S. 1709.

It is impossible, I find, to be so much out of the way, as not to hear of the triumphs of your Grace's arms ; the sound of them has reached even me, and at a time when I began to forget the world, has made me think of it again with pleasure.

I use the liberty, which your Grace was pleased to allow me, with discretion ; but if I did not trouble you on this occasion, I should fail in doing justice to a heart full of joy for your success, zeal for your service, and love for your person.

That your Grace may go on to finish this war

with the same glory as you have been attended by in the prosecution of it, that we may owe you the establishment of our happiness at home, as we do our security from foreign danger, and that I may live one time or other to contribute in some degree or other to the advancement of your designs, is the most ardent prayer of your Grace's, &c. &c.

LORD SOMERS TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH:

8th of September, O. S. 1709.

My Lord,

I am too sensible of the greatness of the affairs in which your Grace is constantly engaged, and of the little use any letters of mine can be, to pretend to trouble you often ; but I lay in a sort of customary claim to congratulate you upon the occasion of this glorious victory, as I have done often before upon the like accounts. Many others can make their court better ; but no man living can more truly rejoice in the success, or has more heartily wished, and prayed for it. May the consequence of it be as agreeable and happy to yourself as your own heart can desire, and to all Europe in producing a happy and lasting peace, which is the end for which you have been so long fighting, and which I hope you will live long to enjoy with honour and satisfaction.

I cannot but hope this last great success will quite lower the credit of those who may wish for an ill peace, and satisfy the French King at last that he

has attempted everything possible for saving his own honour, and that it is time for him in good earnest to think of preserving France from utter ruin.

I am sure your Grace will omit nothing which may improve this glorious advantage: I am not so vain as to offer any poor thoughts of mine for that purpose.

LORD CONINGSBY TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

Hampton Court (Herefordshire), Sept. 10, O. S. 1709.

My Lord,

I reckon myself unhappy that by reason of the distance I am from hearing the glorious news your Grace has once more sent us, that I can't as early as others congratulate you upon it, but I am in hopes your Grace believes there lives not any man that rejoices more heartily, and chiefly for that it has pleased God to preserve you, on whom (under him,) I know the welfare of your family and of those that have the honour to be esteemed your friends entirely depends.

The times are much changed since you told me at the beginning of this war, that the encouragement you had to venture your life for the public, was because you knew that the same care of those you left behind you, for whom you had any concern, would be taken by others as by yourself, and it may be said with great truth that there is no soil in

Europe produces that cursed weed ingratitude like this.

I will only presume to add, that let what will be the consequence of this blow your Grace has given to France, no consideration ought to hinder you from being here some time before the Parliament meets, and then I doubt not but you will be able to conquer your enemies here, as you have done there, and to take such measures as shall, by God's assistance, secure to you a long, a quiet, and a happy life, to enjoy the fruits of all the hazards you have run, and all the pains you have taken to bring this bloody war to so glorious a conclusion.

THE EARL OF PETERBOROUGH TO THE DUKE OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Sept. 12th, O. S. 1709.

I received the late agreeable news at my Lord Mordaunt's house in Yorkshire, where Lord Huntley had brought his wife to see me. He desires me to make his compliments to your Grace. I wish they were as hearty to your cause, as I believe they are to your person.

I congratulate your Grace the more upon this occasion, because it seems by the accounts we have received that the enemies never fought so well; the vigorous resistance added a grace to your victory, and will make their submission less shameful.

Upon Lake's death, I desired Lord Mordaunt to make all possible haste to his regiment.

I will not trouble your Grace about his pretences, if he only desires his right, his sufferings and your goodness will secure him from disappointment. I hope in the service he will deserve your favour.

LORD GODOLPHIN TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

Windsor, Sept. 9-20, 1709.

This goes to you by Mr. Graham, who designs to embark to-morrow in this packet-boat, so you will receive no other letter from me by this post, and indeed I gave you so much trouble by the last, that it is not very necessary to write much by this.

I can't refuse to send you the memorial of my Lord William Hay, having told his brother, my Lord Yester, that all the service I could do him, I would. My Lord John Hay was a very good man, and by all I have seen of this, I am inclined to believe he is not an ill one.

I shall only add, that upon the strength of your victory, I spoke yesterday to the Bank, that pursuant to the latitude given in the last session of Parliament, they would now contract with me for the circulating 600,000*l.* more in Exchequer bills to the carrying on the public service. What I said seemed to be pretty well received, and I hope it

will succeed ; but upon that occasion Sir Gilbert Heathcote, who is Governor, said to me, " Pray, my Lord, don't let us have a rotten peace." " Pray tell me," I answered, " what you call a rotten peace?" " I call anything a rotten peace," he said, " unless we have Spain, for without it we can have no safety, and now we have them down, let us keep them so, till we get quite out of the war." " But, Sir Gilbert," I said, " I want you a little to consider the circumstances of the Duke of Marlborough and me ; we are railed at every day for having a mind, as they call it, to perpetuate the war, and we are told we shall be worried next winter, for refusing a good peace, and insisting upon terms which it was impossible for France to perform." He replied very quick, " They are a company of rotten rogues that tell you so ; I'll warrant you, we'll stand by you."

I had a mind by this safe hand to give you an account of this dialogue naturally, as it passed. Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Mr. Gold, Deputy Governor of the Bank, were both present at our discourse. By this you will see that as all the malicious people will rail, if there be no peace, so those who wish best will be very uneasy at any peace under which they do not think themselves safe, or that leaves them to an after game for the recovery of Spain. This seemed also to be in a good measure the sense of the States, when Lord Townshend alarmed them with the prospects of

new treaty. If they continue in that mind I hope peace may be had so as at least to satisfy our friends; for the others it is impossible.

LORD GODOLPHIN TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

Windsor, Sept. 12, O. S. 1709.

I have the favour of yours of the 16th, by which I am very much concerned to find you complain so much of the headache, and in that of the 13th, of a drought and inward heat; I might impute it to the great agitation of the day of battle, and am in hopes that rest, and a little care of your diet, will soon recover you. But Lady Marlborough has been so much alarmed at these letters, that it was with difficulty she was prevailed with not to go over in the last packet-boat to you. She is now at St. Alban's, expecting to hear some good news of your health, before her mind can be at liberty enough to come hither, which she had otherwise designed to do yesterday.

The Duke of Somerset is mighty uneasy here, and seems to take it a little unkindly of me, that I had not taken any notice of his two letters he had written, one of them was, I think, in recommendation of this Lord, from whom I send the enclosed, for no other reason, but to put you in mind of the Duke of S.'s letter; and his other letter was about Mr. Berkeley, the Queen's page. He is, in my opinion, extremely expecting and unreasonable.

However, I think it would be right to manage him in some degree.

As to what you write in yours of the 16th about not sending Mr. Robinson to Poland, but rather some other person, because if it is known, particularly to Sweden, that would be certainly right, if he were not entirely changed in all that matter, and if he did not resolve to be useful to the King in endeavouring to bury and lay asleep all that matter, and to turn it all to his future quiet, and to his being useful to the alliance; and since he would not pretend to go upon any other foot than this, we are of opinion here, that his experience in that part of the world, joined to the general opinion conceived both of his integrity and capacity, will make him more capable of doing service, than anybody we could send from hence, where there is no great choice of proper persons for that, or anything else.

I am forced to trouble you with the enclosed for the Earl of Mar, not knowing where to send it to him, and I send it open that you may see, if you can give yourself that trouble, what answer the Queen too directed me to make him.

Since I began to write this, I have received the favour of yours of the 19th, by which I have the satisfaction of finding your illness does not continue, and that you have sent for the spa waters, which are certainly very proper for your complaint, and I hope will soon set you right again.

We had notice from Lord Townshend of the villainy of Sir Philip Meadows's Secretary, upon which the necessary directions are given of sending him over hither with his papers.

As to the Prince of Friese, the Queen says Monsieur Vryberghen gave her his letter, and has asked for an answer to it, which she says she has promised him, and will give it him when she can write, but her eyes are so very sore, and therefore she desires you to make that excuse for her to the Prince, and what you think proper about giving you the jewels.

I have long foreseen that the behaviour of our armies upon the Rhine and in Savoy would encourage the enemy to draw detachments from thence in a very little time, and I think I have in a former letter prepared you to expect it, before you could have heard it from thence; and I can't help doubting, if your siege should prove a long one, you will find another army in the field before the end of it. Our fleet and troops are all upon their way to Spain, so one can't offer you any assistance from hence.

By all that comes from Lord Townshend since the battle, there seems reason to hope that both the Pensioner and the States are in very good humour, and more desirous than ever to compel the King of France to their measures for peace. I wish they may long continue in that mind; but by the relation the French publish, it looks as if they had yet

a mind to keep up a farther spirit among their people. But we shall certainly continue to hinder their supplies of corn by sea, both here and in the Mediterranean, which can hardly fail to make them extremely uneasy, and if it be true that Holland is training their state of war for next year, that alone is enough to bring them to a peace upon any terms.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

Sept. 23, 1709.

By yours of the 29th of the last month, I find you were in hopes that the Duke of Savoy would take the field; but it is so far from that, that I look upon the campaign on that side as done. You also mention the surprising of Bayonne; I have never seen any of those projects succeed, but if the war continues, the proper time for that will be in the spring.

As soon as I received yours of the first of this month, I sent to Antwerp to Mr. Cartwright, that he should immediately send to M. de Cardonnell the particulars of the articles which you mention for extraordinaries sent by him to England, consisting of 45,000*l*. As soon as I see it you shall have my remarks. In the mean time you may be at ease in your mind, for I am very sure that the 40,000*l*. will more than pay the extraordinaries of that year. The two great articles are the forage

given the army at the siege of Ghent, and the two months' pay for the bread, waggons, and Medina's losses. The bread for the Imperialists and Palatines is to be repaid out of the loan on this country. You may be very well assured that I shall be careful that whatever is in my power shall be done, that no blame may fall on you; and I am very confident that whenever the accounts are looked into, it will be seen that there has been savings in the army of this country, and very great extravagancies in Spain and Portugal, so that I beg of you that you will press Mr. Brydges to give in his accounts for the little that concerns myself, which is the 10,000*l.* extraordinaries; I should be glad to have my discharge from the Exchequer, for I think I stand engaged for no other money, and that is more form than anything else. However, I should be loth to leave any incumbrance on my family or on myself, being resolved for the little time I have to live, to be as quiet as possible.

I should have sent you the enclosed copy of Comptre Zinzendorff's letter by the last post. You will observe by it, how necessary this last battle was for the keeping up of their courage in some of the provinces. I have submitted, and shall meddle as little as possible. I wish the approbation and orders that Lord Townshend receives from the Queen and the Cabinet Council may prove for the good of England. Notwithstanding this battle, I am still of

opinion that the Dutch will at last, when they have obtained everything they desire from England, to make it the more secure, to oblige the King of France, give some part of 112 (Spain) to the Duke of Anjou. I cannot hinder myself to let you know this, but pray let nobody be acquainted with it but the Queen. I do, from my soul, wish I may be mistaken.

I forgot in my last to desire you would be careful of not taking any measures concerning the north till we see what becomes of the King of Sweden ; and when I come to the Hague I shall be able to know, by the Pensioner, what measures the States will be willing to enter into.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

Sept. 26, N. S. 1709.

Since my last I have none of yours to answer, there being now two posts due. After much trouble we got yesterday part of our artillery from Brussels, so that the trenches were opened last night without much loss, except the misfortune of poor Cadogan, who was wounded in the neck. They cannot find the ball, nor can the surgeons give any judgment till they have dressed him once or twice more. I hope in God he will do well, for he would be a loss.

As I am now pressed to declare that I would stay at Brussels as last year, till the return of Prince Eugene from Vienna, I should be glad to have your

opinion as to the answer I should give. I will own to you, that I think the scene so changed that I cannot think my stay here necessary, nor is it any ways agreeable to the resolution I have taken of meddling as little as possible in any public affairs. I do not say anything to Mr. Secretary in order for the Queen's commands till I have your opinion, for I do not care to submit myself in this matter to the direction of the Cabinet Council.

The enclosed relation was going to Paris from an officer of the Gens-d'armes ; he speaks well of everybody. As to our not pressing them in their retreat, which he seems to think a fault, it is good you should know the true reason the Prince of Savoy and I had for it was, that we had no foot, and we feared our being beaten back had we pursued them any farther. Our foot of the right being at a great distance, and our Dutch foot of the left, which was the nearest, we were afraid to make them advance, they having been twice repulsed. There never was a battle of so many regular troops in which there was so great a slaughter on both sides. The enclosed is the account of what the foot lost. I have not yet the exact account of the loss of our horse.

I send you Sir Rowland Gwynne's letter. I have reason to think he means very sincerely, so that I wish something could be done for him.

LORD GODOLPHIN TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

Windsor, Sept. 27, 1709.

The wind continuing still so contrary that we can have no letters from abroad, not so much as from Ostend, I should not have the least thing to add to what I have written by the two last posts, but for the misfortune of poor Mr. Howe's death, upon which occasion I am commanded by the Queen to tell you, that her eyes being still too sore to write to you herself, in case you have not already given a regiment to my Lord Hertford, either of yourself, or upon what she ordered me to write to you before relating to this subject, she seems to think this may be a proper occasion of gratifying him with less envy, because nobody in the army knows of the vacancy, and that as she is informed the Lieutenant-Colonel is a man of no deep pretensions.

The meeting of the Parliament is fixed for the 15th of November, and the public thanksgiving day for the 22d of the same month.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

Oct. 3, 1709.

I was so out of order the last post that I could not give any answer to your four letters of the 5th, 6th, 7th, and 9th. I am extremely obliged to you for your kind concern for my health and safety. My feverish and agueish distemper is turned to a looseness, by which I hope to be cured ; at present it dispirits me.

I should after the battle have preferred the siege

of Maubeuge, but it was wholly impossible till we were first masters of Mons. The lines which the Marshal de Boufflers is working between Valenciennes and, and from thence to the Sambre, is chiefly for the security of Maubeuge. I agree with you that the faults at Barcelona are not to be attributed to Mr. Stanhope, who acts, I think, with great zeal in everything he conceives to be for her Majesty's service. In one of yours you lament the killed ; in so great an action it is impossible to get the advantage but by exposing men's lives ; but the lamentable sight and thoughts of it has given me so much disquiet, that I believe it the chief cause of my illness, to see so many brave men killed with whom I have lived these eight years, when we thought ourselves sure of a peace. I have seen a letter from Paris, in which they seem to expect great advantages by the disorders they expect in the North ; but I hope their own disorders in their own country are so great that they will not be able to subsist their troops, and at the same time find such sums of money as will be necessary for the opening the next campaign. I have in my former letters assured you of my believing Mr. Hunter to be a very good man, and that I am confident he will execute any orders that may be given him very well. You will believe me when I tell you that I should be glad Mr. Ash had Mr. Lowther's place at the Board of Ordnance ; but for his being Governor of Barbadoes, how will that agree with the Queen's resolution at my desire of giving those governments

to the officers of the army? I should have been glad to have served my Lord Dunmore's son on this occasion of poor Lord Tullibardine's being killed, but I think the States' resolution was so just that I could not think it reasonable to interpose; the Lieutenant Colonel also being killed, they have given the regiment to the Major.

I hope her Majesty will approve of the resolutions I have taken of filling the vacancies with such as were in the battle, except Mr. Berkeley, having had formerly her Majesty's orders for him. I hope to have a cornet's place for him in Mr. Lumley's regiment. Before I received the Queen's commands in your last letter for Lord Hertford, I had told him he should have a regiment, and I have written to his father to know which of these he desires.

I am very much of the opinion of Sir Gilbert Heathcote that we must not be contented with a rotten peace. I have already said so much to you of my opinion of peace, that I shall say no more till I have the happiness of being with you. I have this minute yours of the 12th and 16th; and if you continue of the opinion of sending Mr. Robinson, you will succeed in none of your negotiations in the North; for though Mr. Robinson be a very honest man, and his intentions very good, yet he will be so suspected in the court of Augustus that he will have no credit, and in Denmark and at Berlin it will be looked upon as a partiality to Sweden, and the Czar will be of the same opinion. The Pensioner, who

was for his going, is now of my opinion. You will have known from Lord Townshend and Sir Philip Meadows of the innocency of his secretary, and that the letter must have been written by a Scotchman called Akenbread, a very villain.

I shall acquaint the Prince of Friese with the reason of the Queen's not having yet written. I have already made it easy with him for the direction of the letter. The great quantity of rain makes our attacks go slowly, the men not being able to work as they ought to do in the nights ; but the worst of this ill weather is, that it must and does already occasion sickness amongst our foot.

I was glad to find by yours of the 16th, that the fleet and men were on their way to Spain ; for had they been detained longer in England, they could have been of no use here, the campaign being so very much advanced ; but I think by the orders France gives, it is very plain that if the war continues, their design is to have as many of their troops as is possible in this country ; but as I hope it is impossible for them to continue the war, I am not much concerned for the orders they have given for the march of their troops.

Whenever there may be a vacancy in the troops in Scotland, I hope the Queen will gratify Lord William Hay ; but it is impossible to bring him over the heads of the officers in this army by any vacancy that happens here.

LORD GODOLPHIN TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

Newcastle, Oct. 3, 1709.

I received last night at this place the favour of four letters from you at once, of the 26th and 30th of September, and of the 3rd and 7th of October. In yours of the 26th of September you say you are much pressed to stay at Brussels till Prince Eugene's returning from Vienna. This is wholly impossible, if you would have anything go on here, so I beg of you not to hesitate a moment upon this point, for all is undone here, if you do not come over as soon as the campaign is ended, and I will write this moment to the Queen to cause my Lord Sunderland to write to Lord Townshend to press the Pensioner with all the earnestness that can be to think of some other expedient ; so either Prince Eugene must stay till you can return, or they must rely upon some other officers as shall be judged most proper for their winter guard.

In yours of the 30th of September you complain of your health and the ill weather. I hope both are mended before this time, for we have now a very fine day. But you must take care not to let a looseness hang long upon you, nor to overcharge your stomach while it continues. I have thought from the first moment of the inconvenience of the King of Denmark's intentions, as now you seem to do. I am sure the Queen and her council are of the same mind ; and I don't doubt but she will speak accordingly to Monsieur de Rosencrantz ; but if persuasions will not do, Holland ought to agree

with us to speak in another tone. If it were sure that the King of Sweden were in Pomerania, I should agree Mr. Robinson ought to be sent to him ; but I look upon that news to be next to impossible. I shall acquaint the Queen with your intentions, which I find in yours of the third of October, of filling the vacancies with such as have served in the battle, which doubtless her Majesty will approve ; also with what you write in answer, and other commands about Lord Hertford, who will not now be contented with either of the regiments you have offered him, an elder being since vacant by the death of Mr. Howe.

I am very glad to find by yours of the 7th that Mr. Cadogan was out of danger, though still I doubt you must be content to lose his service for the rest of this campaign.

While I continue here, my letters must be very stupid ; but as I hear anything certain from London, I will be sure to write to you.

By some mistake, one of my letters, designed to go by last post to you, came too late for it.

MATTHEW PRIOR TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

Westminster, Nov. 16, 1709.

My Lord,

I have been at your Grace's levee among the many who pay their general compliment to you, but had not the good fortune to approach near enough. I therefore take this opportunity of your being a little alone, to congratulate your safe arrival in Eng-

land, and of wishing you may find here all those grateful returns which the glory of your arms, and particularly of the last campaign, may deserve. I assure myself that I continue in your Grace's favour, and in that assurance I place the welfare of my life; but one of those things which would make life much easier to me than it is at present, is my being released from the fear of lying under my Lady Duchess's displeasure. I believe some of your Grace's friends will trouble you in my behalf, that by your kindness to me I may be restored to the commission, in which there is now a vacancy, or sent to Florence, or where else your commands may dispose of me, and that too at such a time as you may think proper. But if in my own person I may say what I most desire, it is, that I may have the liberty of laying myself at my Lady Duchess's feet, and of begging her to hear me demonstrate my innocence as to anything that might have offended her, and to accept my service in whatever may hereafter oblige her; in one word, my Lord, to shew her Grace the contents of this letter. I have lost my employment after sixteen years' service; fare it well. I still subsist, God Almighty bless your goodness and bounty for it. I desire no more of my Lady Duchess than that she would not think me a villain and a libeller. I beg no other eclairsissement of what is past than that she would forget it; and with the most solemn protestation I aver, that I have ever esteemed her as one of the best of women, and would justify that esteem

with my life, which, at present, is no great compliment, for in truth I grow pretty weary of it. Your Grace will be pleased to indulge this request of the most unhappy, but the most faithful of your servants,
MAT. PRIOR.

MATTHEW PRIOR TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

Dec. 22, 1709.

My Lord,

I have congratulated your Grace on so many occasions, that if I were silent on this, of passing yesterday's acts, and perpetuating your honour to your posterity, I should think myself wanting in the great duty I owe you. Your grace will pardon my presuming to do it in this manner, since an indisposition of body hinders me from paying you my personal respects. I take leave to say to your Grace that amongst the many who on this subject have waited on you, no man can wish more sincerely well to your Grace and your family than myself; and that, amongst all those whom your goodness has obliged, no man is more sensible of its effects, or more zealous and industrious to deserve its continuance.

I am ever, with all imaginable duty and respect,
my Lord, &c. &c.,

MAT. PRIOR.

Endorsed by the Duchess of Marlborough — 'Tis certain this man has writ some of the scandalous libels of the Duke of Marlborough and me, though he had a pension of four hundred pounds a year from the Duke of Marlborough, when he pretended to be in his interest.

MATTHEW PRIOR TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

Jan. 28, 1709.

My Lord,

The very mentioning the last campaign in complimenting your Grace's public character upon it, is far from being the subject of a private letter. All that kind of respect must be paid in a different manner; and as long as I can hold a pen I shall endeavour to do it, and that too from the bottom of my heart.

What I have at present to say to my great patron is this. Upon my Lord Herbert's death there is a vacancy in the Commission of Trade, to which I have good reason to hope I may succeed, my Lord Duke of Montague having spoken to Lord Treasurer on that subject, and received Lord Treasurer's answer, that his Lordship has a great inclination to befriend me, and her Majesty, having a great many solicitations for this place, will not yet fill it up. The Duke of Montague, who is the chief of my friends here in this affair, bid me write the state of this thing to your Grace. My Lord, I think it is in so fair a way that a word from your Grace would confirm it. I leave this to your Grace's consideration, whose goodness has always befriended me, and remain, with the greatest zeal and respect, your Grace's, &c.*

* The refusal of Godolphin to comply with this request, or at least his demur, irritated Prior, and threw him into the arms of the opposite party, when, forgetful of his obligation to the Duke of Marlborough, he abused him with as much malignity as Swift.

MATTHEW PRIOR TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

1709.

I presume to let your Grace know that in this unhappy leisure, from which I beg so heartily to be released, I have collected into one volume whatever I had heretofore writ. The only valuable pieces are those in which I have endeavoured to mention the great Duke of Marlborough as I ought, and the obligations which Britain has to her General's conduct. My Lady Duchess has been pleased to receive the book kindly, and has ordered Mr. B. to let me know she is satisfied I never did deserve her displeasure, and her Grace's justice is such, that all obstacles on that side are perfectly removed. I am very sure (if there be occasion) she will be so far from opposing my being restored, that she will assist it.

I beg your Grace's pardon for the length of my letter, but, my Lord, my gratitude is always talkative and importunate.

I wish your Grace all the health, prosperity, and success that can contribute to make a prince happy.

LORD GODOLPHIN TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

Sunday, March 5, 1709-10.

I have received the favour of yours of the 11th and 12th, and shall endeavour to obey all your commands in it as well as I am able to do, but this uneasy trial of Sacheverel's does not only take up all my time, but very much impairs my health, and

how it will end I am not at all certain ; but I certainly wish it had never began, for it has occasioned a very great ferment, and given opportunity to a great many people to be impertinent who always had the inclination, but wanted the opportunity of shewing it. Upon the whole, the great majority in the House of Lords, which we had in the beginning of this sessions, encourages people* to commit follies, which however one can't convince them of till it is too late.

I yesterday morning read your letter to the Queen, with the paper enclosed in it from Monsieur Gronken. She has allowed me to tell you, she thinks the King of Prussia's desires in both points very reasonable, and that you may answer for her part towards satisfying him in them as far as you shall judge proper.

* * * * *

(After speaking about a meeting of the Cabinet Council, he adds)—

What their opinion is like to be upon your joint letter with Lord Townshend to Mr. Secretary, I cannot yet tell you, but I am apt to think they will desire, in case a proposal is to be made to the Queen to recede from any point of the Spanish monarchy, that it should be as authentic as possible, and the security for the King of France's complying with all the other articles, as plain and as firm as it can be made ; because, to lay it before the Parliament im-

* The Whigs.

perfect or uncertain on any point will create new difficulties rather than give ease to those we have. Of this I shall be able to write more particularly after the Cabinet Council to-night; but I was willing to say thus much to-day, while I had time, being sure I shall have very little to-morrow or next day.

The Queen has promised she will give strict orders to all the officers to be gone by the time you mention ; and from all you have written in your last, I continue still in the opinion I have been of all this winter, that from the moment you go into the field, France will agree to such a peace as Holland desires you should be contented with, let Count Zinzendorff or Prince Eugene be never so averse to it.

Sunday Night.

I am come from the Cabinet Council. Mr. Secretary Boyle has orders to write no more at present, than that in case it should be proposed to you to recede from the entire monarchy of Spain, you should absolutely insist against any conclusion till you had time to acquaint the Queen with it, and to receive her commands upon it.

I find they all seem to wish it may be plain and so particular, especially as to the security of performance from France, that it may be laid before Parliament without hazard of being ill received there, which I incline to believe it will not be, especially if it recedes only from Sicily, though amongst friends I am very apt to think the Duke

of Anjou in Sicily will not be long without being master of Naples also, and therefore in that respect, as well as some others, Count Maffei's project * is more desirable, if there be any way of coming to it.

This sorry trial of Sacheverel's will so far delay the rising of Parliament, that there's no danger of its being up before the time of your going into the field.

Monday, March 6.

I am now to acknowledge the favour of yours of the 14th, by which I am glad to find that the Pensionary is so clear sighted and so reasonably jealous of the sincerity of France; for it cannot be denied, that at the same time they pretend by yielding to him Naples and Sicily, to persuade him to give up Spain, they have been endeavouring for this whole twelvemonth to put it out of their own power to bring him from thence.

These are certainly great arguments of the insincerity of the French, but at the same time, their own misery is so severe, that it makes me hope all other difficulties will be overcome by them.

As to what you write of 62's mind about Sicily, I own myself to be of the same, but I am sensible that the Courts of Vienna and Turin will neither of them like this concession, and the mere apprehension of it is the true occasion of Count Maffei's proposal, as the only plausible means to hinder this other from taking place.

* To give Sicily to the Duke of Savoy.

Now as to the positive orders for which you again repeat your desire of the 14th, I don't very well see how they are consistent with your other desire of having the terms of the peace offered by France laid before the Parliament, for we must not lay those terms before them as what is already agreed, but as what may be agreed if they like it ; for this reason it seems to me that you can have no other positive orders from hence at present, but to insist on so much time as is necessary to send to England for the Queen's approbation.

And I shall venture to give you my own private opinion, that you have little reason to doubt of having it in case the matter turns only upon yielding Sicily to King Philip ; but then, as I have already said in the former part of this letter, the manner of securing the performance of the whole ought to be made very plain and clear.

I write this letter at home, having been forced away from the trial to-day with great pain of the gravel. I hope before the post goes out to be able to tell you I am a little more at ease.

LORD GODOLPHIN TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

March 8th, 1709-10.

Since my letter of yesterday the wind is so contrary and so high, that I have no hope of hearing from you before the next post goes from hence.

I write therefore to suggest a notion which I take from what passed the last year, as you then

agreed the preliminaries, and offered to France to take or refuse them, so if the French are now sincere in desiring to yield all the monarchy of Spain except Sicily, why might not some means be found to insinuate to them, that if they take the secure method and sign the treaty upon those terms first, there is ground to hope the allies may be brought to agree to it, allowing them a competent time to consider and judge of the security offered by France for the performance of them. Possibly this is no more than a notion, and never can be reduced to practice. However, there can be no harm in writing it to you. I have not mentioned it to any but to the Queen and to Lord Somers, who thinks, if it can be practicable, it would be the most desirable way that could be imagined of laying it before 88 (Parliament).

Friday, March 10.

This is the last day of Dr. Sacheverel's trial in Westminster Hall, but I am apt to think the debate of that matter in the House of Lords will require two days more at the least. In the mean time they will be going on in the House of Commons with the remainder of the supplies, and I hope all will be finished by Easter, so you may reckon there will be no room to bring any proposal to the Parliament after Easter-day, which is the 9-20th of April.

The Duke of Queensbury presses me mightily to write to you, that Lord Dumbarton might be one of your aide-de-camps, which he says would be a great

countenance and encouragement to him in the world. I could not refuse him at this time, 'when he tells me he will be right in the matter of Sacheverell, which is more than I can say either of 37, or of his elder brother.* They are both, I believe, to my certain knowledge, outrageous at the favour which is designed for 221 (Duke of Argyle), who, to say the truth, does not deserve it of you, nor ever will, but that matter is now past recal, he being next to 13 (Duke of Somerset), one of the greatest favourites. I must own there was a time when this favour might have been done him very properly, but that time was very short, and it can never be done but all mankind will be disobliged by it.

The weather to-day is very mild and warm, and being just at the equinoctial, I hope you will have a fine season for taking the field, if the French don't think fit to ease you of it, which I still think they will do, for as matters stand abroad, it seems to me as if they would be under a necessity either of making up the peace immediately, or of letting the allies see very plainly they do not intend to make peace at all till after another campaign.

LORD GODOLPHIN TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

Hague, March 28th, 1710.

I have followed your directions in giving assurances to Gronken in general terms, but, upon what

* Lord Orkney and Duke of Hamilton.

he says to me, I see very plainly that the negotiations between his master and France are not broke off, and the little inclinations I find this State has of giving satisfaction to that King makes me of opinion that it is absolutely necessary at this time, for the good of the public, and the particular interest of the Queen, that she would be pleased to write with her own hand the inclosed letter to the King of Prussia, and that I might have it to send to Gronken. I find by your last letter that you think everything may be finished, so as that the Parliament might put an end to the sessions about the tenth of the next month. I desire you will let the Queen know that I shall use my utmost diligence that she may have it in her power, before that time, to acquaint the Parliament so that she might have their opinion, but if it should so happen that neither the French nor these people will speak so plain, as may give her Majesty the advantage of laying the whole before the Parliament, I do then earnestly beg, for the good of the service, that the adjournments may be very short, for you may depend upon it, that the intentions of this Republic is to continue the negotiations in hopes of persuading the allies to consent to what France shall agree for the Duke of Anjou, in order to have a general peace.

You will see by the inclosed papers given by Count Zinzendorff to the Pensioner and myself, the intentions of the Court of Vienna. I do not doubt of the Count having his orders agreeable to these

papers, but you must be careful not to let him know the Queen's intentions, for Lord Townshend and myself have a very difficult part to act, so as not to give offence. The letters from Vienna say, that Prince Eugene was not to leave that town till the 23rd, so that we do not expect him till the eighth of next month. The business hitherto being very easy, I have thought it for the service, not to acknowledge the power given by the Queen for the further expence of the Swedes and Danes ; but if the war should continue, and those troops become absolutely necessary to be entertained, I think the numbers need not be greater than two thousand horse and four thousand foot. By the next post we shall send Mr. Secretary the declaration we have made concerning the north, which makes us so very much masters of that business, that I think for this year we need fear nothing from thence, especially if the King of Sweden be a little longer detained at Bender.

Petkom has obtained leave to go to Gurtruremberg ; he has faithfully promised to inform me of all that shall pass.

LORD GODOLPHIN TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

March 30th, 1710.

Since my last, I have the favour of yours of the 5th, with the letters and papers inclosed. The Queen shewed some pity upon my reading Sir R. Guinn's letter, and will, I believe, be inclined to do in that matter as you shall think reasonable.

I think the Parliament will be up by this day se'nnight, and by your last, I hardly expect any proposal from your side before that time. I am very glad to hear you are so near the time of your going to Brussels, for I have no prospect of any good to happen either abroad or at home, but from your taking the field early, and I think that may happen to have a great effect upon both. I will not trouble you in a letter with the particulars of 38's (my) complaints, but in one word, the life of a galley-slave is paradise in comparison with his.

March 31.

The resolution of the Court of Vienna relating to the Duke of Savoy's affairs is so very dilatory and scandalous at this time, that unless Prince Eugene and you can, by your authority engage the Mareschale to follow the project proposed and agreed to at the Hague, in the beginning of the last spring, for the operations in Dauphiné, all the expence of those troops and subsidies on that side is just so much money thrown away.

I shall not trouble you with anything else about foreign affairs till I hear from you. The Queen shews a great deal of weakness in countenancing and supporting the folly and impertinence of 13 (Duke of Somerset), to give no worse name.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

Tournay, April 20, 1710.

Being informed of some indiscreet and vain conversations of 13 (the Duke of Somerset), I must trouble you with the letter I have received from Lieutenant-General Maitland, and my answer to it, which I must desire you will read to the Queen, and to assure her that I have no inclination in this matter but what her service obliges me to ; and as long as I am in it, I shall always act what I think for her Majesty's safety and honour, and be very little concerned for the displeasure of 13 or 221.

The day before we came here the enemy retook Montagn, but that post being very convenient for us at this time, we forced them from it the day before yesterday ; but the waters continue so very high that we can't as yet attempt St. Arnant, which would have been of use to us for the attempting the lines ; but as the falling of the waters are uncertain, and the giving the French more time very dangerous, the orders are given for the army's marching this night, so that I hope my next will give you an account of our being in Artois, for if they can hinder our passing the lines, it will put us under very great difficulties, and very much dishearten our friends at the Hague. On all the French frontiers they talk of nothing but war, so that we suppose here our next letters from Holland will be that the French are gone from Gurtruremberg. God send us success.

LORD GODOLPHIN TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

April 20, 1710.

There being no possibility of foreign letters before the post goes out, I shall begin this with giving you an account of a visit which I had the honour of this morning from 28 (Duke of Shrewsbury). He was extremely full of professions to you and to me, and to Lady Marlborough ; and by whatever door he came in, it was always with an intention and a desire to live well with those three ; and not only so, but with all others they would have him live well with, not doubting, he added, that it would have been done much sooner if you and I had been entirely masters of it ; and that perhaps it was as well for us that it had happened in this manner, considering the jealous humour of the Whigs. I answered, with compliments from you, and I did not doubt but our friends would be all in the same disposition. And I really find them so, for the most part, as far as they think 28 may be relied on ; and they seem, however, to think it the best method to be taken at present.

His Grace protested most solemnly to me that he never had spoken a word to Abigail in his life ; then he said, the only sore place was the difference betwixt 240 and 42, and that all the rest might presently be set right. This he said was going a great way, for the first conversation, but that he desired to use all freedom with me. If you think

fit to make any answer to this, I beg it may be in a letter to myself.

The Duke of Hamilton is a good deal mortified with what was done lately for the Duke of Argyle, and since for Bugg (Duke of Kent) upon his going out. He is now in a disposition of coming round again to you and me, but you have never yet remembered to ease my Lord Archibald's pretensions.

Count Maffei tells me the proposal you and he had talked of to me, has also been opened to 14 (Lord Townshend) and to 62 (the Pensionary), and would have me write to 14 to desire him to talk with Marquis de Bourg and the Pensionary together upon that subject; but I like better to write this to you, and if you think proper, you will write to 14 accordingly.

I think you have done very well in delaying to take the Swedish troops into the service of the allies, for our friends this year are so remote and defective, that we shall find very great difficulties in supplying your own army in Flanders, as well as we used to do.

An expedition was designed last year for Canada and Hudson's Bay, but hindered by the article in the preliminaries for neutral restitution. The cabinet council seem inclined, now the hostilities are renewed, to renew also their intentions in that matter, and I believe we shall put it in execution as soon as we are quite free from all apprehensions about Scotland.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

April 24, 1710.

Since my last from Tournay I have not till now had so much time to myself as to be able to write. The success we have had since Monday is hardly credible; the French that morning, as soon as we appeared, quitted their lines, which, if they had defended, must have cost us a great many thousand lives. From thence they marched to Vitry, behind the Scarp; but as soon as we appeared the next day, they decamped in great haste, leaving several of the officers' tents and baggage, their servants being gone with their horses to forage. That night the army I command passed the river; those under the command of Prince Eugene stay on that side, to block the town. Yesterday I made another movement to Pont de Rache, so that Douay is now blocked on all sides. This happy beginning makes us hope for a glorious campaign, in which it is likely we shall have a great deal of action; and as I think it is very much for the Queen's service that the officers should be in good humour, I have written the enclosed letter to her Majesty, to beg the favour of her allowing the promotions mentioned in my letter. Mr. Walpole will have the names agreeable to the dates I mention in my letter, which I desire you will, with my humble duty, give to the Queen, and that she will be pleased, at the same time, to give directions for Lieutenant-General Lumley's patent for life,—I mean for his government. I hope the Queen

will approve of what I have proposed at the Hague, for the troops of Prussia. The Emperor and the Dutch, by that proposal, are to pay one half. If they will not comply, it will always be in her Majesty's power to have them at her own expence; and as the business of the North does not so much press as when I was directed to receive them into the Queen's pay, I thought it for the service to endeavour the saving of money.

God Almighty has blessed us with extraordinary good weather, or we should not have been able to have performed what we have done; if He continues his blessings, this campaign must put an end to the war. We are now at a full stand for want of our cannon, which I fear we shall not be able to get to this place till about the eighth of May, for neither in Holland, nor here in the army, we could never flatter ourselves that the French would have suffered us to have advanced so fast; we shall, in a little time, see what effects this success will have on the Councils of France.

LORD GODOLPHIN TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

April 28, 1710.

Not having any letter from you since my last, I shall have little trouble to give you by this post. Mr. Walpole having given the Lords of the Committee an account that we have six regiments here which may be spared for any pressing service; they seem to determine that five of them shall go upon

the same expedition designed last year to North America, and the other to Scotland, from whence Lieutenant-General Maitland alarms us that the Pretender is expected there in May. Lord Isla is afraid of going to the West Indies, and the Duke of Shrewsbury has appeared very warmly for his regiment's going to Scotland, which I believe will prevail, and so I believe will whatsoever he thinks fit to concern himself very warmly for ; and 89 (the Whigs) consisting of so many uneasy ill-humoured people, will probably give the Duke of Shrewsbury so many advantages before the weight of 39 can come to their help, that I doubt it will not be possible for me to have patience so long as is necessary I should for the sake of the Queen's own self, I mean with relation to the affairs abroad, and as to those at home, unless 81 (peace) appears, they will be in the last confusion from the encouragement given to run against the present administration, for that must certainly hinder all preparations for another year, but in case of peace those disorders will have no great consequence but to the particular persons who happened to be concerned in them.

To give you some comfort after all these melancholy reflections, we have this day begun the subscription for the 100,000*l.* upon the Silesia funds ; I have subscribed 2,000*l.* for myself, and, in the absence of Lord Ryalton, 4,000*l.* for you, in which I hope you won't disown me. Sir Harry Furnese will give you a particular account of all other

particulars belonging to this matter in his letter, which he told me he would send to inclose in this before the post goes out.

MR. SHUTE TO LORD SUNDERLAND.

Hatton Garden, Sunday afternoon, 1710.

My Lord,

It is of the utmost consequence in my humble opinion, in order to put stop to these rebellious tumults, to prevent the mob from assembling on any pretence whatsoever during the trial of Dr. Sacheverel, but especially to huzza him from his lodgings in the Temple to Westminster Hall, and from thence back again several times, as I have been informed they do since Wednesday night. For being permitted thus to assemble, they will presume that either it is not unlawful for them to gather together, or that the government has not the inclination or the courage to prevent it. But your Lordship will easily observe that any of these opinions prevailing, will accustom the mob to assemble till it will grow very difficult to break them of it, especially if your Lordship considers that every time they meet, the combination and confederacy is strengthened, every one encouraging the other till they grow hardened, and at last are led to commit some wickedness, that makes them desperate. And if they are suffered thus to assemble whilst the justices of the peace have the directions of the government to do their utmost to prevent these tumults, and have the guards and

militia to assist their officers in the execution of their duty, to what degree of insolence will they not come when the constables and headboroughs shall not be posted up and down to secure the streets as they are now, or the militia be not up to support them. The charge of which is so considerable that either it will not be kept up after the trial is over, or if it be, will make the people uneasy under it.

It being therefore so absolutely necessary to put an immediate end to the mobs assembling, though in never so small a number, I will take the liberty, in obedience to your Lordship's commands this morning, to propose how I think it may be done in the best and most effectual manner.

To prevent the mobs accompanying him to the Hall in a morning, which has been the first occasion every day of their getting together, they must be prevented from assembling in the Temple under his chambers.

The method of doing it would be for the benchers of both the Temples to order all the gates (except that in the middle Temple that leads to the water) to be kept shut, having only the wickets open, to hinder any of the mob from coming in, and to set their own porters with a sufficient number of watchmen for that purpose ; and if they offer to force the door, to send for the train bands, two companies of which are posted at Temple Bar, to their assistance.

The train bands posted there must likewise have orders to prevent any mob from drawing together

about Temple Bar ; and if the Temples and Temple Bar be kept clear, the mob will not so easily know where to find the Doctor's coach, in order to the attending him to Westminster Hall ; if they should assemble in other parts, and if they cannot find it, the end of their assembling in a morning being lost, they will soon disperse of themselves, and not attempt for the future.

But the more effectually to prevent their getting together elsewhere, in order to find out his coach as he goes to Westminster Hall, the militia of Middlesex must have strict orders to prevent the mob from gathering in any of the open places where they are posted, such as the May Pole in the Strand, Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, Covent Garden, and her Majesty's guards the like orders for Whitehall.

It would be a very effectual means to prevent the mobs attending him were some of the militia posted at the end of the cross streets that come into the Strand from such open places as Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, and Covent Garden, so convenient for their gathering in the neighbourhood of them.

This, my Lord, would, I suppose, effectually prevent them going to Westminster Hall with the Doctor ; but there must be more care taken to prevent their coming back with him, they being more disposed to come back than to go thither, it being generally at a time when their work is over, when they are more animated by their noisy leaders, who dare not appear in the daytime, and when they are

for the same reason more ready to commit any wickedness they are prompted to. This also ought to be prevented with the utmost care, because it is more difficult to resist them in the night, and a terror and a panic are more apt to be spread.

To this end, all the avenues leading to both the palace yards, must be very well secured, and no disorderly person suffered to come into it, or stay in it. And no mob be suffered to get together about the Abbey or King Street, especially about that part of King Street which is near Palace Yard. If this be prevented, they will not know where to find his coach, and being disappointed of their end in attending back, will not give themselves the trouble of attempting it for the future.

By these reasons the streets will be kept pretty clear from Westminster to the Temple, from any mob, but such as those who live in those streets, or just in the neighbourhood, who being few, may be very easily prevented from meeting, or very soon dispersed.

And the better to do it, the justices of Westminster should give strict orders to their officers to take up everybody that huzzas in the street, especially in the case if the mob is sounding the trumpet, in order to their being brought before them, and being sent to the house of correction, or being dealt otherwise with, as they shall find necessary.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

May 5th, 1710.

Since my last, I have had the favour of yours of the 10th, from Newmarket, and another of the 18th, from London. The post of the 14th brought me none from you. You do not give me any account how the project of Calais came not to be put in execution, and I should be glad to know how far the inclinations of those people continue in case we should this summer find an occasion of being near their neighbourhood, which will not be impossible, if we can take another town after we have this, which I think nothing but a battle can prevent. It is said the King of France has given full powers to the Marshal de Villars; if it be true we shall see him before the end of this month; we are preparing to receive him. We shall want the greatest part of the Palatine troops, and I fear some of the Prussians. If the three battalions embarked are intended for Flanders, I could wish they were hastened, for if we must give a battle, in all likelihood the good or bad welfare of Christendom will depend on the success. Our letters by this post are full of changes that are to be, and of the Duke of Shrewsbury being declared Lord Chamberlain. I am stayed for, so that I have not time to say more by this post, but I long for the time of being quiet with you.

The Prince of Savoy has desired me to make his compliments for the Barbadoes matters.

LORD GODOLPHIN TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

May 12, 1710.

Not having any letters from you since my last long letter, I shall apply myself to answer, as well as one can in a letter, some particulars that you mentioned to me in your letter to myself upon 28's (Shrewsbury) coming in. 38 (I) took the first opportunity of pressing 42 (the Queen,) upon the favour she had given you some hopes of for 15.* But all that could possibly be obtained, after long reasoning and importunity, was, that he should certainly be the first, as had already been said to himself. 38's construction upon this was, that a first resolution was taken that no present mark of favour was upon any account to be shown to 89 (the Whigs). It was not impossible but that there may have been some other collateral reason, but in my opinion this was the chief.

This being the case, I cannot see it would be of any use for 89 to apply to 28, in this affair, besides that, notwithstanding all 28's fair words, I can see plainly by his discourse to me but yesterday, that his friends are expecting and pressing for other alterations, and one particularly relating to 6 (Sunderland) that must be insupportable to Mr. Freeman, and consequently to 38 (me,) and therefore I took the liberty to say that so plainly to 28 (Duke of Shrewsbury), that upon it he took up a

* The Garter for Lord Orford.

little, and said, that for his own part, he should never press any thing that would be disagreeable to Mrs. Freeman, and that he, 28, could live much better with 6, than with some others of his companions. I did not desire him so much as to say plainly who these others were, but I am apt to think none more likely than 15 (Orford) himself, or perhaps 5 (Somers.) But these are only my own conjectures. I know that generally the ill will of 48 (the Tories) runs chiefly against 7 (Wharton), but he seems at present to be a little out of reach.

Upon the whole, considering 13's (Somerset's) assiduity and inveterate malice, joined with 42's (the Queen's) natural disposition and weakness, Mr. Freeman and 38 must expect as many mortifications as they can find handles to give them, unless 89 were disposed to give such assurances to 28, as should make him think himself secure in acting with them, which treaty I think is very difficult to make in Mr. Freeman's absence, and would not be so in my opinion, if he were there. But the matter will have taken its fly before that time, and therefore I conclude this uneasy subject with saying, that in general we must take care to keep our temper, and not to suffer ourselves to be provoked by the injuries done us by others, to make a wrong or unreasonable step ourselves; for that would not only be the greatest gratification imaginable to 13 and to 221, &c. but also draw the blame of any ill consequences upon ourselves, which otherwise will light, as it ought to do, upon them.

By my Lord Stair's letter to Mr. Secretary Boyle, he ought to be with you by this time, and I hope he is. He has left a secretary here, which looks as if he designed to go back again after the campaign, and as if he were to be entitled to the appointments in the mean time. This latter part is not reasonable, if he does not go back again, which I fancy he does not intend, and indeed the business he went upon seems to be so well finished, as not to need his return.

The Queen has told me she intends to give Colonel Hill a pension of 1000*l.* a year for life, and that she had promised it ever since he was disappointed of a regiment of dragoons.

I am just informed that 28 has had a conversation of three hours with 17 last night, to whom he has explained himself more particularly than to me in several points ; 38 will be with 17 this night at nine to hear it, but it will be too late for you to have any account of it till next post. But I imagine the drift of this meeting was for 28 to convince 17 of his sincerity to 39, and the difficulty of keeping 42 from running headlong into 84's (the Tories) measures.

Upon talking the other day with Mr. Erle, whether the present posture of your army abroad might give a proper opportunity for seizing some post upon the coast of France, and making such a descent as he was employed upon before he went to Ostend, he has just sent in his thoughts in the

inclosed letter and paper which I trouble you with, that you may see that he does not think anything of that kind practicable, without a greater body of foot than we have ; but whether any more can be drawn as he proposes out of the garrison in Scotland, I am not a judge, nor indeed of any other part of it.

LORD GODOLPHIN TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

May 5-16, 1710.

Yesterday I received the favour of yours of the 8th, with the inclosed letters from the Pensionary and Lord Townshend, both which I have had the honour to read to the Queen. At that part of my Lord Townshend's letter, which mentioned the foreign ministers writing from hence that the Treasury is to be put into commission, she gave a sort of a scornful smile, but did not think fit to say a word to me upon it, and perhaps it is not yet in her intentions or thoughts; but what she may be brought to in time by a perpetual course of ill offices and lies from 199 (Harley) and his friends, and no pains taken by 38, or anybody for him, to break the force of those impressions, I am sure I cannot answer. But this I know, as long as you are abroad in the field, and that your army cannot be regularly paid, but by my particular care and endeavours, no slight provocation shall prevail with me to quit my post, though it is uneasy enough in itself, and would in my circumstances be intolerable, but that I know

the public would suffer both at home and abroad, if I should not contain myself till your return, which is therefore my present resolution ; but the insolency of 199 and his creature are inexpressible. 221's brother and 10 (Rivers,) and that sort of cattle, have as little management here as you say he has abroad.

At the same time I am persuaded 28's inclination goes with us, but 'tis impossible but he must have great measures to keep with the others, besides that I believe he must be sensible there must be great difficulties in continuing well with us upon account of 240's (the Duchess) present circumstances. However, it is my opinion, that if 39 were here, 28 would speak so to him as to satisfy him, and perhaps he would do so to 240 too if he had an opportunity ; but 240 has not been in town since his coming among us, and seems pretty fully resolved not to come in the way of that conversation.

I am pretty sure it shall not be proposed by me, both because I think it would be disliked, and that I think it is not the way to have it succeed, so that matter, as well as most others, must be left to Providence to bring about in its own time.

I have now to thank you also for your letter of the 12th, with the inclosed from the King of Prussia to the Queen, which I have delivered to her Majesty. I am very glad to find by yours, that you are so well prepared to receive the French army by every way that they can come to the relief of Douay.

My opinion, therefore is, that they will never come through the plains to make that attempt, besides, that by the French news, they will not be able to draw all their army together before you will, as I hope, have taken it. But they will probably stay till all their detachments join them, and then try to make you attack them behind some river or other strong situation, where they will post themselves to cover their own country. But even in that case, I still think they will not be able to cover their sea coast at the same time. In one word, all depends, abroad and at home too, upon the good or ill event of this campaign. I don't say this to make you hazard or precipitate anything in the least that in itself is not reasonable, but rather that you would avoid occasion, and consider whether five or six regiments now here could be of use to you for the distressing of France, by seizing any post upon the coast, and by being more able by that means to furnish bread to your army. I am apt to think that any plan of that kind fairly laid before us, would meet with a ready concurrence here ; and I yet continue of opinion, that a detachment from your army appearing before Calais or Boulogne at the same time with our fleet and land forces, might either incline those places to put themselves under the Queen's protection, or afraid to expose themselves to her displeasure by refusing to do it. But you are the best judge whether anything of this kind be practicable. I only mention it, that in case you

desire it, we may have your thoughts early enough to provide for what you expect from us.

I see by the Pensionary's letter to you, that the Elector of Hanover has absolutely declined to command in the Rhine, and that 62 (the Pensionary) pleases himself with the thought that 48 (Eugene) may draw men from thence to strengthen your army upon occasion. I must own to you I have but little faith as to that point, for the troops which compose that army have seldom, in my observation, been in any condition to make long marches.

I find by Lord Townshend's letter of this post, that though the negotiations seem at present to be ended, yet he does not think the French plenipotentiaries are in any great haste to go home. I pray God to give you good success, and send us a happy meeting. To me I am sure, it will be so, happen when it will.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

May 16, 1710.

I have received the favour of your two letters, and as soon as I can see a probability of renewing the negotiations at the Hague, I shall write to Lord Townshend, as you and Count Maffei desire. By the last post Mr. Secretary acquaints me that he had acquainted Monsieur Spanheim that her Majesty was willing to recommend to the Parliament

next winter, her part of the hundred thousand crowns for the renewing the treaty for the troops in Italy. When the proposition was made to me at the Hague, I did immediately tell both Schmettan and Gronken, that it was so very unreasonable, that they ought not to insist of anything of that kind, but at the Court of Vienna, so that the King of Prussia will be angry with me, and pleased with your resolutions in England, which, if the war should last, will occasion you many more troubles of this kind ; for as my business everywhere during this war has been to save as much as possible the Queen's and public's money, they will be sure to make their applications where they shall find it most easy.

Lord Raby is also very unjustly angry with me, that he is not treating, as he calls it, at the Hague. But as long as I am sure I do what is best for the service, I shall be very little concerned at what he and some others think.

I have received, as might be expected from our long acquaintance, a very kind letter from the Duke of Shrewsbury. You know the esteem I have always had for him ; I have not time to answer it by this post, but by the next I shall do it as I ought ; in the meantime you will make him my excuses and compliments. You and the Queen know my thoughts as to the Garter 15 (Orford.) Would not this be a time ? I hint it only to you.

I dare not speak against the project of sending

troops to the West Indies, the Cabinet Council thinking it very reasonable. But to you I will own very freely that I think it can end in nothing but a great expence and the ruining of those regiments. Besides, nothing that can be done there will forward the peace ; and if we can be so fortunate as to force them here, we may have by one dash of a pen much more than any expeditions can give in many years. But what I write is only for yourself ; for as I have not been advised with, I beg my name may not be used.

The Marshal de Villars was to be the 14th at Perrone, and intends, as we are assured, to have his army together on the 19th. But as the easterly winds keep the grass and corn very backward, I very much doubt whether he can be able to make them subsist. We are using our endeavours for getting dry forage till the end of this month, in which time we hope to have this town. Lord Lumley being dead, I should be glad you would take a proper time of recommending to the Queen Lord Harwich. He behaves himself extremely well, so that he ought to be encouraged.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

May 19, 1710.

Since my last I have had the favour of yours of the 28th, by which I see the intentions of a West India voyage ; if I had heard sooner of that pro-

ject, you should have known my particular thoughts, which I wrote by the last post upon hearing of it by accident, though I did not care to meddle with what is not immediately under my particular care, yet I can't forbear thinking by the experience I have had of expeditions in the last reign as well as this, that it is next to impossible that this can end in anything, but an expence to make you uneasy, the ruining of the regiments, and the increasing of the debt of the ordnance. You know very well that these considerations give real uneasiness to nobody but 38 and 39, nobody caring how the debt increases or how anything succeeds, so as that their parties do not suffer. I cannot be of this humour, for as long as I am in business, I must say and do what I think is for the service, so that you will excuse the trouble I give you, for I know finding fault must have that effect.

What you say as to the different humours of people, I believe is but too true ; but as you have, with prudence and patience, suffered hitherto, I think you must not be disheartened. And if Monsieur Villars makes good his threats of venturing a battle, I should yet hope, before this campaign is ended, we might have a sure prospect of a good peace. If we have no action till the end of this month, I shall esteem it a happiness, for by that time we shall have all our troops, except the Palatine's, and even four thousand of them will be here in the first week of next month. As the French continue to draw their

troops from Dauphiné and the Rhine to strengthen their army here, Prince Eugene has written to Vienna, that we might have from the Rhine two imperial regiments of horse and three of foot. Tho' they should consent, we must not expect these troops till the month of July ; but by it you will observe we do all that is in our powers for strengthening this army, for here it is where the fate of this war will be decided ; and I think that this campaign must do it, which makes me more cheerfully bear the age of threescore. I am very glad you have had so good success in the loan of Silesia, for without that money the imperial troops of this army could not have subsisted, but with great difficulties. You might be sure there was no need of your giving yourself the trouble of an excuse for the subscription you made for me, for not only in money matters, but in everything, you may command your humble servant.

The Earl of Dunmore has desired me to write to the Queen in his favour for the government which his father had ; he is certainly left very ill, and is a very sober discreet young man. In my next I shall let you know my thoughts as for a governor of Carolina, by the disposing of which I may satisfy Colonel Corbet, who gave the Queen a petition the last winter. She there seemed to wish I might do something to content him, he has served so long ; but I think it is better for the Queen's service to satisfy him this way, than giving him a regiment,

his enemies having fixed upon him the character of a Jacobite.

We send out this evening four thousand horse under the pretence of visiting the ground about Arras, as we shall do, but the real intention is for the taking of the Cardinal Bouillon. It is done in concert with himself. He having great benefices in France, it must not be known to anybody but the Queen. He promises to serve the interest of the House of Austria at Rome ; if we take him, whatever further steps shall be made, the Queen shall have an account.

The enclosed papers you must put with the rest. I have written to the Princess, as she desires.

LORD GODOLPHIN TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

June 16, 1710.

By a messenger dispatched last night, who goes in the same boat with this, you will receive so large a packet, that it would be very unreasonable to add much to it to-day. However, I have a mind to tell you that 42 has directed 200 (Mr. Boyle) to write to-night to 14 (Lord Townshend), that he should acquaint 62, that what had been done relating to 6, was not with intention in the least to diminish the credit of 39, but that it was 42's intention not to make any other change, and to support the allies, and carry on the war with the same vigour as ever. The best use which we think can be made of this

is for 62 and 116 (the States) to return an answer by 65, that they are very much concerned for what has happened to 6, who was known to be so great a friend to them and the common cause ; that they are very glad to hear 42 has no intention to make any other changes ; but if there be the least thought of parting with 88 (the Parliament), as is very industriously spread in that country by the friends of 43 (France), it will be utterly impossible to hinder these people from running into 81 (peace) immediately, just as 43 pleases, leaving 108 (England) and 42 (the Queen) to shift for themselves, without any security against the pretensions of 54. I must tell you also the many arguments used here for changing of the Parliament while 80 (the war) continues, which is, that the new or old Parliament will always be for supporting the war against the King of France ; but the fallacy of that is, that when 88 is once gone, all the allies are in despair, and making their own terms, before it is possible for 88 to come again and declare their intentions ; and though those intentions should happen to be the best in the world, yet it would then be too late to hope for any fruit of them. If you approve this argument, as really I cannot see much to be said against it, I submit to you whether it may not be good for you to take notice of it in a letter to 28, as the general opinion of the whole alliance, and of all sorts of people on that side of the water. I can't think but this must have some effect upon him ; at least it

will make the matter more difficult, and help to gain us more time to secure 81 (peace), and after that, let them do whatever they please, I, for my part, shall be much more indifferent.

LORD GODOLPHIN TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

June 22, 1710.

To-morrow we shall want three posts from Holland. In the mean time the noise of new elections continues very strong, notwithstanding the great weight laid upon that matter both there and here, so that 'tis really amusing to see how little reflection people make upon consequences that are so very hazardous. If God Almighty continues his blessings to you in the field, all this may yet come right again, and no other way do I see any prospect of it. You are extremely kind in writing so often a private letter to myself, without which I should be under very great difficulties at this critical time.

To make all this management yet more discreet, 42 has at this time a very plain information of an attempt designed upon Scotland in the midst of August. The first cargo is to come from Brest, and to be seconded afterwards from Dunkirk, so that 42 desires that you will continue to watch that place very narrowly. The preparations are not made at one time nor place, to avoid suspicion.

Lord Galway pressed, before 6 went out, for leisure to come home, and it was allowed him. To

be rid of 10, 38 named him to 42, who made 28 propose it to him ; but he has refused it, thinking himself, I suppose, too necessary here. Upon this refusal, 42 seemed inclined to Lord Portmore, which makes me think 28 has recommended him. If he be as capable of serving well as he believes himself, there needs no more.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

THE DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH TO ———.

February 23d.

I AM so little mistress of my own time, and it is so uncertain to find your Ladyship without an appointment, that I think this the best way of giving you an account that I have obeyed your commands to the Duke of Marlborough, who says all the good in the world of Mr. Sydney, but at the same time that it is impossible for him to comply with your desires now: he tells me there is a great many captains in the regiment much older, which is an argument to defend himself from me when I urged the hardship it was not to prefer Mr. Sydney; not that he designs (I hope) to provide for them according to their eldership, for at that rate Mr. Sydney's advancement would be very remote. I think myself unlucky that I am so insignificant, where I wish to be of use, but still I hope that a little time and patience may compass something to your satisfaction, which is very much desired by, Madam, your Ladyship's most faithful and most humble servant,

S. MARLBOROUGH.

DR. HARE TO THE DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH.

Barnes, Aug. 26th, 1726.

Madam,

When I waited on the Princess on Tuesday last, she, among other things, mentioned your quarrels with Mr. Walpole, which, being by this means so fresh in my mind, I took the opportunity I had in a visit I made yesterday to him, to speak of them. Being at leisure, he entered very frankly and fully into them, protested that he had not the least design of disobliging your Grace, or the least thought of incurring your displeasure, in any of them, but as he thought himself obliged to you for the credit and service you had done the government, by lending for several years so great a sum to it, so he was always desirous to serve you, and so little suspected your being out of humour with him, that he thought himself upon a very good footing with your Grace, when you sent to him and expressed so much resentment.

He then entered into the particulars: the Woodstock postmaster, taxes for the park, and going with your coach through St. James's Park. As to the first, the not sending your Grace word that what you desired was done, was most evidently pure omission in the hurry of business; since the thing desired was immediately done, and whoever does a service, cannot be supposed less willing to give notice of his having done it, than he was to do it.

As to the taxes, though he thought what was desired unreasonable, and should certainly think so in his own case, yet he presently made an order for allowing the money, which was doing all that he properly could do, that the order has lain ready for you these sixteen months, and may be had by sending for, and if your Grace will not submit to the usual and regular forms of doing business, the world must think the fault yours, and not his. As to the last article of going through the Park, he owns that upon the King's complaint he did, without thinking of your Grace, or any other person, advise the King to revoke all leave in general, as less invidious than to call for a list and make exceptions, and that it was better that those whose cases were reasonable, should apply for new leave than be excepted. But that when he knew how much your Grace was offended at this, he desired Lord Godolphin* to obtain your consent for applying to the King for leave for you, which, if you had agreed to, it would certainly have been granted. But, instead of this, your Grace applied by the Princess, whom, as herself told me, the King refused, and this the Princess told Mr. Walpole; upon which he asks a very natural question, what could he do in such a case? How could he pretend to ask the King to do what he had refused the Princess? Or what could be

* Francis, second Earl of Godolphin, and son-in-law of the Duchess.

a greater rudeness to Her Royal Highness? This was the substance of what Mr. Walpole said, who told me he was free to enter into these matters, from the consciousness he had that he had done nothing that could deserve your displeasure in any of them.

What impression this conversation made on me, your Grace will judge, by my troubling you with an account of it. And I have this reason to think I do not judge partially; I heard your Grace once in the spring speak about these things with a resentment that exceedingly surprised me, upon which the first opportunity I had, I spoke of them to Lord Godolphin, whom your Grace knows, I think, one of the most reasonable and most dispassionate creatures in the world, and consequently most likely to judge truly and impartially. And he gave me the same account, and was clearly of opinion your Grace's resentments were ill-founded.

I am sensible, Madam, these matters will not bear dispute or arguing, while your resentments are so strong, and therefore I write with no other view, but the hopes that your own calm reflections, when at leisure and out of conversation, will lead you to see things in another light, which is easiest done by putting another person in your place, and considering what judgments you would make of the like conduct in them.

I hope and believe, Madam, that I need not tell your Grace that I have the most affectionate esteem

for you, and not only esteem, but really admire you for your fine understanding and good sense, and for the just and noble sentiments which you express on all occasions in the best language and the most agreeable manner, so that one cannot hear you without the greatest pleasure ; but the more I esteem and admire what is excellent in your Grace, the more concerned am I to see any blemishes in so great a character. Ill-grounded suspicions, violent passions, and a boundless liberty of expressing resentments of persons without distinction from the Prince downwards, and that in the most public manner, and before servants, are certainly blemishes, and not only so, but attended with great inconveniences ; they lessen exceedingly the influence and interests persons of your Grace's fortune and endowments would otherwise have, and unavoidably create enemies. It is, I think, confessed to be one of the most prudent rules of life, for persons in all stations not to give needless and unnecessary offence, since no person is so great as not to want on many occasions for themselves, or relations, or friends, the favour and good will of others ; and least of all, is it desirable to incur the settled displeasure or ill wish of a Prince ; since he can seldom want long an opportunity of making it felt in some degree or other. How far your Grace has any regard to this rule of life, I need not say, because I am sure I want no inclination to put the most favourable construction upon any blemishes

in so bright a character ; because I have no other thought of them, than what I know to be the sense of all your friends, so far as I have any knowledge of them. It is the fate of great persons to be generally entirely ignorant of the sentiments their friends have of their conduct with respect to anything that is amiss in it, and therefore it is possible nobody may have ever taken the liberty I now do. But yet, in a true estimation of things, it is by all men allowed to be one of the kindest offices, and I know of no return I can make your Grace, that can more effectually convince you of the thorough sense I have of your late kind care of me, when by my illness I gave your Grace and your family so much trouble, which I hope your Grace will believe I would not have done if I had in the least imagined the disorder I was under, when I knew not it had been anything but fatigue, and would have proved a distemper.

I shall always, Madam, retain a grateful sense of your goodness on this occasion, and be glad of any opportunity of acknowledging it. And if what I have now done have not the good fortune to be thought of that kind, yet I beg your Grace will forgive it, since it proceeds from no other motive in the world but the great and entire respect I have for you, which has drawn me into this instance of a real, though perhaps imprudent zeal for your honour and service.

I am leaving these parts on Tuesday for about

two months, and before that time hope, if I have said anything I should not, it will be forgot, since the intention of this letter is not to argue, but only to suggest things to your Grace for your own reflections. I am, with all possible respect and esteem, Madam, &c.

FR. HARE.

I do not send this by the post, that it may come into no hands but your Grace's own.

THE DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH TO DR. HARE.

I have received the favour of yours of the 26th of August, for which I give you a great many thanks. I have read Montaigne, and I remember he says something to this purpose, that one can't give a greater proof of friendship than in venturing to disoblige a friend, in order to serve them. I am entirely of his opinion; and even when I am not convinced that I have done wrong, I always take it kindly, and therefore I am confident I shall never forget it though you desire me, and in this I imitate your humble servant Dy., for when I made a sort of an apology for telling her anything that may prevent any mischief to her, she always says, she loves me better for telling her any fault, and I desire you will believe that my nature is the same; and I beg of you never to have the least scruple in telling me anything you think, for I am not so partial to myself as not to know that I have many imperfections, but a great fault I will never have, that I know to

be one. And now I must desire your leave, in a place where you have a good deal of leisure, to trouble you with a long letter (which I foresee this will be) and to put the subject of your letter in a true light, for I find you have heard but one side, and that not stated fairly, but the facts are as follows:—

In the first place, I did not send to speak with Sir Robert Walpole, he sent to me, and brought with him papers of what he had to propose concerning the borrowing the trust money. I heard him very patiently, though I had been ill treated upon many occasions. I found that it was the old business, to lend money, two hundred thousand pounds immediately, which he had the goodness to own would be a service to him. But a greater sum which he was to have some months after, he would have made me believe was an advantage to the trust; and that it was for our own sakes that he took it, intimating that he could have what he would at three per cent., or at less. This was a little provoking to one that knew how much Lord Godolphin had lost by lending at such low interest, and how impossible it was for Sir Robert Walpole to have made so much as an appearance of sinking the public debt, if I had not consented to lend the trust money. However, I resolved before he came to say nothing, but that I should take his proposals and ask advice, and that I should not carry the compliment so far as to do anything in that matter, but as

I was convinced that it was for the interest of the trust.

This was not very courtly I own ; but by experience I had found that very great civilities were of no use, and nothing passed but formality and great coldness, till Sir Robert Walpole drew it upon himself by making me some small expression (which since he was a great man he never did before) of his being always ready to serve me, or something to that purpose, upon which I thought I might very well repeat all that I had ever desired of him, and in whatever manner he had treated me. He laughed very much, but whether it was a laugh of anger or contempt, I don't know, for I have heard that he has both ; but he would by no means allow that I had reason to complain of anything, and said that I had repeated a list of trifles. Upon which I said, that great men heard nothing that could displease them, because most people that spoke to them wanted their favour, and when any person told them the truth, they generally thought them mad ; that I had said nothing but was so, and when he cared to hear the truth I should be glad to see him again ; that I had now vented myself, and I could talk to him easily upon other things, and after a little more discourse, we parted civilly. But I should have told you before that he answered the business of the Woodstock postmaster, just as you have wrote that he had done the thing, and the omission of not sending me word it was certainly

nothing, if it had been true that it was done. But this very reasonable request was made in August to his brother in as civil a manner as I could express, and no answer being given, I wrote to Sir Robert Walpole upon it, having some other business upon account of something he wanted to be done in Windsor Park ; and he answered my letter without taking any notice of the complaint I had made to him of the postmaster's rudeness ; and notwithstanding all that I could say, this man (that only sold nails) was not put out till after the King came into England, and but a few days before I was honoured with Sir Robert Walpole's visit. This he says was immediately done, and calls it a service.

As to what he says of the taxes of Windsor Park, it is true that when I spoke to him first about them, he did say it was unreasonable, and added a great deal upon that head, which I thought more insolent than ever I heard any minister say, but I bore with it, and it did not hinder me from lending the first great sum that he desired ; because I knew Lord Godolphin had a mind that he should have it ; and for the same reason I have repeated that service very often, though it was plain that at first a vast gain might have been made by buying things in the public funds, of that sort that were as secure as the lending of the money ; and had this been done, I know Sir Robert Walpole must have given Lord Godolphin a reasonable interest, but he told him that he could have what money he would of the

Bank at such low interest, and told the Bank that if they would not lend upon his terms he could have it of Lord Godolphin, and so played them against one another. But to my certain knowledge, when he was forced to have money of the Bank, he gave them a much better interest than he did Lord Godolphin, which I think was very base, to save the public money in no case but where his friend was concerned. I think a friend should never influence one to do wrong to a trust, but he certainly ought to have allowed Lord Godolphin as good an interest as he did to the Bank, and not to have taken advantage of his easiness in money matters.

But to go on in answer to what Sir Robert says concerning the taxes, *“that he did immediately make an order for allowing the money, which was all that he could properly do, and that it has been ready this sixteen months, and that if I will not submit to the usual forms of doing business the world must think the fault mine.”* It is now about nine years since I first spoke to Sir Robert Walpole upon that matter, when he ranted like my Lord Rochester, and said he must always be against it; that his own park was another sort of thing than the King’s, who had nothing but a little venison, and he thought people that had grants should pay all the charges. I answered that I would do it very willingly if the King could give it me, but I was only his servant, and I thought the tax of his Majesty’s own park would not be required of me to

pay, no more than I could expect my servants should pay out of their salary the taxes at St. Alban's; that I never had paid any tax for that park, nor any other ranger since the Restoration, which he would find in the treasury books. Upon this he grew a little more civil, I suppose upon the great sum of money that was to be lent by my hand; and he said he would enquire at the Treasury, and make himself master of that matter in two or three days, and then he would acquaint me with it; but I lent the money, and he never thought fit to take any sort of notice of me till he wanted the same kindness to be repeated. But I found about two or three months after, by accident complaining to Lord Godolphin of Sir Robert Walpole, that he had told him that he would take care to put those taxes in such a method that they should be paid, and I am apt to think that was said chiefly upon Lord Godolphin's account, because he could not charge the tax upon one park, and clear the other from taxes, which is now my Lord Godolphin's, from my gift to his wife.

Sir Robert says this tax is not reasonable for the King to pay, and perhaps he is so far in the right, that the town of Windsor may have made them greater than they ought to be, to lessen their own taxes; but let that be as it will, I am sure the rangers of Windsor parks have nothing to do with the taxes for the King's ground: and I do believe, that what ground was anciently belonging to the

crown and called the King's parks were not subject to taxes : but these parks have been enlarged both by King Charles and Queen Anne ; and it would be very hard upon the subject if Kings could make purchases, and by that means make the tax so much heavier upon people of small estates. But there can be nothing so ridiculous as to expect that these taxes should be paid by a servant out of an allowance only to make the hay for the King's deer that he eats and gives away, and to pay the keeper's wages and other charges belonging to the King, which I do whether I receive it or not ; and besides a great sum of money that I have laid out, which depends upon the Crown to take away when the lives fall. I am sure the allowance has done little more than pay the necessary charges that I am to pay as ranger ; and whatever advantages so knowing a man as Sir Robert may make of his own park, I find mine at Blenheim very chargeable. And at Windsor 'tis much more so, because all the under servants look upon it to be the King's, and that they have a right to get all they can.

But to conclude this head, I can't conceive what Sir Robert means by saying, I won't submit to the usual method of doing business, for I don't understand that I have anything more to do to solicit or receive money to pay the taxes of the King's little house at Windsor and his two parks, all which is taxed together, than I have to pay any allowance that he thinks to allow the parishes of St. Martin's

or St. James's churches for what he gives them upon account of Whitehall and St. James's. And I spoke to Sir Robert only as he was at the head of the Treasury to do me justice, and to save me from the uneasiness of having the officers for the taxes at Windsor coming to me perpetually to tell me that they would seize my goods at the Lodge, which I believe they can't do, because it stands in the old park; and for the deer, they are the King's, and he may do what Sir Robert pleases with them. I make no advantage of the park, but to eat sometimes a few little Welsh runts, and I have no more cows than I allow the under keepers, which are to each six, but I have laid out a great deal of money, which is called being a good tenant, and I never was so mean as to bring any bills, like other great men upon such occasions, for what I did for my own satisfaction.

I am now come to what Sir Robert says concerning my being forbid that small privilege of going through St. James's Park, which the late Queen never took from me, even when the ministers for their own interest made her angry with me. Whether the King spoke first to Sir Robert, or he advised it himself, makes no difference to me. I think it was unreasonable for St. James's Park to be made like a street; but considering the situation of my house, and how very modestly I had made use of the liberty that was given me, I thought I might have hoped, from the services that I always

endeavoured to do Sir Robert, when I had power, that he would not have allowed the Duke of Buckingham's widow a greater favour than the Duke of Marlborough's, since her house is as near Hyde Park and Westminster as mine, and has both ways a better going to it than mine has from the Pall Mall, through a narrow place that sometimes from the encroachments people have made, a coach and six horses can hardly get out ; and what makes this the more extraordinary is, that Sir Robert Walpole told me himself that the Duchess of Buckingham had wrote so impertinent a letter to the King, that she was not to be allowed to go through the park ; yet after that she was allowed to go through every part of the park, as much as the Royal Family does ; and what I aimed at was only to go sometimes when my health required it to take the air. Mrs. Dunch has been likewise permitted the same favour, who lives at Whitehall. The only reasonable thing that Sir Robert says upon this subject is, that when the King had refused the Princess, how could he ask the King to do what he had refused to her. This sounds right, but I think it is not unlikely that you have helped him in that turn, but I am sure even you can't give a good reason why Sir Robert Walpole did not of himself get an order to have me allowed the same liberty I had, when the Duchess of Buckingham was allowed it ; or if he had continued the intention of keeping her out, nobody would have wondered at it.

In the conversation I had with him, he said he thought it was reasonable for me to go through the park, as I had done, that Lord Chetwynd was a fool in sending the message to me, or to that purpose, and that I might have had leave if I had desired it. I said I thought it was too much presumption in me to send to the King, considering how I had been used and represented in Cragg's ministry, the particulars of which you have formerly read, and I did then design never to trouble myself nor anybody more about that matter ; but a great while after, when I found the Duchess of Buckingham went through, being so ill that I could not bear the jolting of a coach upon the stones when I wanted to take the air, I wrote to the Princess to obtain this favour for me. She wrote to me in half-an-hour, with a great deal of goodness, and would not send me a refusal till she had tried several times, and there is no doubt but Sir Robert knew this, who might have prevented my troubling her Royal Highness at all, as it was natural for any man that had any gentlemanlike qualities, by asking the King's leave long before anything of this happened ; and he certainly should have done it without giving me any trouble but to thank him for his civility ; for it was a small favour, and what some ministers formerly would have thought right to have done upon their master's account, without any view of obliging me in it. And as to the rudeness which he

thought it would be to the Princess, if his Majesty had no regard to my letter, which was not written in the Duchess of Buckingham's stile, I think he might have represented it so easily to the King as to have made her a compliment by telling her that he could no longer refuse her what she had desired upon my account; I dare say her Royal Highness would not have taken that for an affront.

I am confident that Sir Robert Walpole never desired Lord Godolphin to ask my consent to apply to his Majesty for leave, but says it only by way of excuse; for he never said to me the least word like it; and though he is not so warm in some things as I should be, I know he has so much truth and real goodness that he would have been glad to have told me anything that could have been of any use or ease to me. This is certainly true, and I am sure I never forgot anything that ever Lord Godolphin said to me.

I believe I may some time or other have complained of Sir Robert Walpole's treatment of me, but I never went through with it, believing that it was not easy to him; and I am not surer of any one thing in the world than I am that I never had any such message from Sir Robert Walpole by Lord Godolphin or anybody else. I am sorry to find you think my resentments are so strong, that I must be more calm before I can make right reflections; I think I can be easily convinced by reason, and I am

sure I never was in any passion about these things, nor I believe never shall be about anything that any court or ministers can do to me ; I know the world too well to let anything of that sort strike very deep, and I hope I shall always take care (as I have hitherto done) not to be the aggressor.

I have followed your advice exactly in putting another person in my place, in order to judge better of the matter, and I can positively affirm, that had I been in Sir Robert Walpole's place, I should have done very few things that he has done ; and as ill as he has used me, if he were just in my place, and he had been so treated, I should have thought in his case just as I do in my own, and would have prevented it had it been in my power. I agree with you entirely it is very imprudent to give needless and unnecessary offence to people in power, and that all people may have occasion of favour for themselves or their friends ; nay, I go yet further, for I think it is very agreeable to live well with any court that one wishes well to, as I am sure I have always done and must do to this ; but I hope you won't blame me if I can't compass impossibilities. I have paid my duty in the most respectful manner as long as it was fit for me to do it to the King, and before I knew Sir Robert Walpole so well as I do now, I really loved him ; and to show how little partial I am in my nature, I was of his side against my Lord Sunderland, and often declared it before

he and I had any difference, which was chiefly upon his marriage and the South Sea project ; but I must own that I cannot come up to your discretion as to keeping my thoughts to myself, when I know I am in the right, and when I never have had any obligation, which is my case, from *the highest downwards*, as you express it. I can't see that I am obliged upon any account not to say the truth, let it fall upon whom it will ; and if I could have so sweet a temper as you wish me, I can't see that it would be of any use to me, for if all the good wishes that I have made for this government (not to mention some services) can't make the ministers treat me with common decency, I don't see why I should deny myself the pleasure of speaking my mind upon any occasion. I never yet saw any creature that was so tame, unless it were somebody that could not be contented to live upon what they had, and though I have as much pleasure in serving friends as anybody ever felt, yet upon that account I would not do what I would never do for myself, though I were ever so much reduced in my fortune, that is, make a mean court to those that have used me ill before I ever had a thought of saying one wry word of them ; and as for what you say of the boundless liberty which I take without distinction, the person that you now would defend has taken much greater, though he had obligations to him, and you see as to interest that has done him no hurt, since he can

make that person do whatever he pleases; but I don't design to take him for my pattern.

I have been misrepresented by a great many vile people, and so must any person be that will cross a worthless man or woman's passions, though it be ever so right to do it; and I am very little concerned for what you seem to think is the sense of many concerning my behaviour, because I am sure they don't know me, and by what I have seen in most of my acquaintance, I have hardly ever found that they could take the advice in their own case, that some will give. For my own part, I own to you freely that I should be sorry to have less resentment than I have, since it does not make me uneasy; for I never yet saw anybody that would submit to ill-usage that was capable of friendship or of anything that is good. I never was false or did an ill thing to anybody; and if those that do both hurt me when they have no provocation from me to do it, I think I am at liberty to say whatever is true of them, and I wish nobody went further; I am sure I never will, whatever injury may be done me, which I have found generally fell upon me from those that wanted to defend their own wrong actions. I think it is now high time to have done, since I dare say I have tried you, but not altered your opinion of me; but however that may happen, I am sure that I shall always be your most thankful and faithful humble servant, unless I should find you otherwise than you have ever been to me, which I think is

not possible after the long experience that I have had of you, and of so many friendships shown to me upon several occasions. By what you have written 'tis possible that you will call this letter the effect of passion ; but I assure you that I am in none ; and if you think this passion, you must think so of me as long as I live ; for I have not the least anger against those you mention ; one is imposed upon and must be so, and the other can't help their nature, nor I can't help thinking of them as I do, nor can anybody expect that one can either love or value those that have few or no good qualities, so much as one does those that have.

I hope you will tell me that you have forgiven this very long letter, for I could not make it shorter without studying a long time ; and you know my way is to tumble out the truth just as it comes in my head.

THE DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH TO SIR ROBERT
WALPOLE.

Jan. 1, 1731.

Sir,

I confess that your letter surprised me extremely, and you will excuse me if I am desirous of some further explanation of it. You tell me that you have laid the several proposals I made relating to Windsor Park, before his Majesty, and that he is not disposed to do anything upon them. I presume you do not mean by this, that his Majesty will entirely abandon all further care of the park, and let

it run quite to ruin ; but only that he will not be put to any extraordinary expence upon account of beautifying it. My letter to you, sir, consisted of several parts ; I apprehended some of them might have been for his Majesty's service and diversion, being told that game cannot be preserved unless some corn be sown in the park, and that for want of some plowing the ground was almost all overrun with mole hills, thistles, and other weeds that destroyed the grass a great deal, which is wanted for the feeding a sufficient stock of deer to answer his Majesty's demands, besides the new addition of the red deer let into the park ; but it is not for me to argue upon that matter, and all I will say more of it is, that I hope nobody will imagine that I had the least view of any interest to myself, but only in mending the ground by plowing small pieces at a time as his Majesty should be pleased to direct, but as he does not approve of it I am very well satisfied. The other matters contained in my letter, are not proposals of mine as you term them, but representations of facts, and things that are absolutely necessary to be done. It is very easy to conceive that when the Crown has not been disbursed for a great number of years, that many necessary repairs must be wanting. To avoid solicitation I have done many things at my own expence that never any ranger did before, but that cannot be always expected from me, tho' I shall never desire the Crown should be at any charge for the lodge that I make use of, tho' 'tis

as much the King's as the keepers' lodges are, who attend his Majesty in the park, whose lodges, I am informed, are in so bad a condition, that some of the poor men have been forced to be at the expence themselves to keep out the weather. I believe you will think it better husbandry to lay out at present a little money in necessary repairs, than to be forced to rebuild them when they are fallen down. The rails likewise are in many places rotten, and in some places quite fallen, and if there be no fence the deer will run out of the park, and the cattle of other people will get into it. Many of the gates also want repairs, and these are things that I apprehend to be so absolutely and immediately necessary, that I make no question, that when his Majesty is apprised of them, he will not only be disposed to order them, but give his directions that they may be forthwith done. And I hope you will order the proper officers of the Crown to survey these matters, and see whether they are not as I have represented them, with orders to do nothing but what they shall judge necessary, for the less I have to do in it, the better I shall like it. But I confess I took it to be my duty to lay these things before his Majesty, that I might not be blamed if he ever should find his park in a worse condition than he expects. I am sorry to have given you this second trouble. I am,

Sir, your most humble obedient servant,

S. MARLBOROUGH.

DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH TO MR. RUDD,
BIGGLESWADE.

Marlborough House, April 12, 1735.

Sir,

I am glad you seem to have a good opinion of the tenants, but they should keep their promise in clearing to Lady Day, 1734. After what is done, they are going on in a year and a half's arrear further, which will be due at Michaelmas next ; this will be a very great sum considering what they owe besides to my Lord Godolphin, who has given it under his hand, that the Duke of Marlborough shall be paid first, upon account that he received a great sum of money, which by law he could not have had, and for that reason, as I have said before, the tenants must be brought to owe but half a year's rent to the Duke of Marlborough before they must be allowed to pay anything to my Lord Godolphin. I am confident that Mr. Norgate and Mr. Tomlinson have made some agreement underhand with the tenants to evade this agreement ; and it would do the Duke of Marlborough a very great service if you could find out what it is ; which, among so many tenants, I should think you might be able to do. I am sure my Lord Godolphin cannot do so shameful a thing as to support them in it, though Norgate and Tomlinson may contrive it so as to cover it and bring a most unreasonable loss upon the Duke. I have seen a great while that there is

a great kindness between Best and these wicked agents; but they say Best is able to pay, and I will write to him myself about it.

As you have taken some pains to examine the estate at Strixton, and like it so much, I should be very glad to buy it; therefore I desire you would do what you can to find out the real truth of it, for I am confident it must be sold to some new bidder, my Lady Oxenden having left her money to several people. My money is as good as anybody's else, and I would give for it what you will advise me to give, and pay the money down as soon as the title is made out. There is nothing more certain than that there must be soon a war, or we must be swallowed up by France, which I should think is so bad a prospect as not to make land go at an extravagant price. I am very sincerely your friend and humble servant,

S. MARLBOROUGH.

THE DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE
DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

August 1st, 1735.

My Lord,

I am sensible that your Grace's time should not be taken up with trifles, but I cannot avoid doing it upon a conversation which I understand you have lately had with the Duke of Marlborough touching a dispute between the Duke of St. Alban's and me, which occasions your Grace this trouble. The Duke of St. Alban's pretends to claim a right of

coming into Windsor Little Park with coaches and chaises whenever he pleases. I have forbid it ; he urges a necessity for it on account of his supervising the fortifications, a term in my mind extremely odd and ridiculous, if he means by it the ditch that is round the castle, two sides of which are out of the park. I do not apprehend it to be of any great importance to the place, but however, I am so far from desiring to prevent the constable from doing his duty in his military capacity and putting the place into a proper condition of defence, that I promise, whenever he shall please to give me notice, I will order my keepers from time to time to attend him or any other engineer that may be thought necessary for the purpose, though I confess I do not see any immediate probability of an attack. But to be serious with your Grace, I do assure you that I never knew anybody whatever pretend to the least right of this kind, nor was any one ever admitted into the House Park in coaches or chaises but the Royal Family or the ranger, on account of his going to his house ; of the truth of this, I am sorry to say it, I am a witness for full fifty years, and if a right cannot be claimed, I am sure the Duke, of all men living, is the least entitled to receive any favour from me ; he has often been most remarkably uncivil to me, to give his treatment no worse a name. I will not trouble you with an account of the particulars, but if I might make use of a military expression in my turn, I could say, that he has

besieged me in both parks, and been willing to forage in them at pleasure. He once got the fences pulled down which cost a good deal to put up again, which if it had not been done, my grant had been useless to me. When he got Cranborn Lodge, he broke open a door which I had in friendship to Lord Ranelagh suffered him to make, and which upon his death was made up, and this he did not only without my leave, but without giving me the least notice of it. I got the better of him in these points, and now he pursues me to the Little Park, and I wish he may not have persuaded your Grace that the best way to compromise this affair is to let him have a key ; but I hope what I have said here will convince you to the contrary, and of the reasonableness of my opposition to his ill-grounded pretensions, and I make no question but your Grace will represent this in such a manner to her Majesty, that I may not only not suffer in my right, but what is still worse, in her good opinion, as if I claimed more than really was so. I must once more ask your pardon for the liberty I have taken, before I assure you that I am, my Lord, your Grace's

Most obedient, and most humble servant,

S. MARLBOROUGH.

LORD GODOLPHIN TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

St. James's, 22d July, 1736.

Madam,

Since Sir Robert Walpole's return to town, I have reported to him what I had in command from your Grace, the last time I had the hononr of waiting on you, and in a second conference I have had with him on the subject, he told me that the terms mentioned by your Grace were very readily agreed, viz. the depositing such a sum of money as should be thought reasonable, in proper hands for the benefit of the poor of the parish. That in consequence of this, he hoped your Grace would direct either Mr. Green, or whom else you thought fit, to meet Mr. Selwyn and such counsel as should be appointed on her Majesty's behalf, in order to their considering the most proper means for reducing to practice, and for empowering the Queen to make such a road as has been desired. Whatever directions of this kind your Grace shall think fit to give, you will please to send to Mr. Green, because I am going for ten days into Gloucestershire, and the summer (which is the only time for works of this kind) is pretty far advanced. I am, Madam, your Grace's

Most humble and obedient servant,

GODOLPHIN.

THE DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH TO MR. WALLER,
LINCOLN'S INN FIELDS.

14 of —, 1738.

Sir,

I believe the grant for the ground in St. James's Park was made before Mr. Travers was land surveyor. This grant was made to trustees for me, and some years after, (I do not know how long,) upon the Queen's granting a lease to Mr. Henry Boyle, for what they called the Queen's Garden, she added a small piece of ground for making more room to build my house. This is a great many years since, and perhaps this might be after Mr. Travers was in that office. But let that be as it will, I am very sure that in those few grants I had, which were only the lodges in Windsor Park, and ground for Marlborough House, I never failed paying the persons who passed those grants the moment they passed them, and it is very probable if I had time to look for papers of such a standing, I might find them. So that the memorandum Mr. Holditch talks of is ridiculous. As to my speaking to him, he is a man of a general ill character, and therefore I don't see that can be of any use but to give me trouble, for I am sure he will give me nothing after his proceedings that the law will not give. I shall be ready whenever you please to pay Mr. Peck the money on account of Chillworth. I have seen Mr. Hughes this morning ; he tells me all things will be

ready soon to finish the business of Hill Deverill :
I shall be ready to complete the purchase, and am,
Sir, your friend and obliged humble servant,
S. MARLBOROUGH.

THE DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH "TO MR. COOKE
AT THE BANK."

April 6, 1742.

Sir,

I have received a letter from Mr. Dodridge, a gentleman that I know not ; but he seems to me to be a well-wisher to my family. He writes a good deal to me, and expresses satisfaction in the reading the book,* which proves the falsities that have been spread by party against me ; but wishes that I had added two things more to the clearing my character ; which are as follows :—first concerning the King of Prussia, that he had writ a book in which he imputes the ruin of Europe to have happened from a quarrel between Queen Anne and me about a pair of gloves. I did once hear there was such a book printed, and that His Majesty said, the Queen would have her gloves made before mine, which I would not suffer the glover to do. The other report, which he mentions, is, that her Majesty was reconciled to the Duke of Marlborough and me before her death. The letter does not mention what we did to compass this great favour ; but it seems to think it was

* This book was the "Conduct," which was printed in 1742.

from doing some very infamous thing. As to this story, I can only answer that I never heard one word of it before; that the letter says, that we came into England, the end of July, 1714; the Queen died the 1st of August, and we did not come into England till after her death, and, as to the King of Prussia's history, I have heard it was some other person that wrote it for him, and called it the King of Prussia's. I will not pretend to say anything in contradiction to his parts, if he did write it; but I think it is impossible for anybody to answer all the nonsense that has been laid to the charge of kings and ministers, and as to these two stories there is not the least foundation for either. To pretend to say anything to them is like answering all the Grub Street papers which are only writ from people in garrets to sell: and, upon this late occasion, some have writ a foolish book to find fault with the Conduct, and the same person has writ another to answer himself. I have done what I had great pleasure in, vindicated myself by incontestable proofs from the vile aspersions that had been thrown upon me by the rage of parties, and I believe there were great numbers of people which believed all they were told very naturally, till it was contradicted. This I have done very clearly: and I do not care what fools or mad people say of me, which will always be a great majority: and I am as little concerned at what kings may write, for I am very sure that I shall never more have anything to do with

kings or ministers, for which I thank God. This gentleman, Mr. Dodridge, desires that I would give him some answer to what he has writ, by mentioning it in my conversation with Mr. Cooke, of Newington, which he says will bring it round to him. I suppose he means that you have some acquaintance that correspond with him; if you please you may send this very letter to him from, Sir,

Your most obliged friend and humble servant,
S. MARLBOROUGH.

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THE END.

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this observation is true; and as I have some thoughts of going to the Congress of Baden, I would not neglect to let your Grace know it; for in this case, if the Duke of Marlborough thinks this matter not already determined, and that it is worth while to have anybody there that would in private let him know the steps that are constantly made in that affair, I am sure it would certainly determine me to go there, and give him the best information I am capable of.

If I don't go to Baden, which I shall with great pleasure, if I can be of any use to my Lord Duke, I think to continue my route northwards, as I designed when I left your Grace. Wherever I am, I shall have an infinite pleasure in shewing your Grace that I am really my Lord Duke's and your Grace's most dutiful, &c.

MR. MOLYNEUX TO THE DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH.

Hanover, May 18, 1714.

It was delightful to see how all the suite received the news of the writs being demanded. The dear friends* of the House of Hanover, that have nothing nearer at heart than this House, that came to invite the Prince over, and have been crying out this many a day that they desire nothing more than his presence in England, when a step is made to it are all in alarm, concerned to the last degree;

* Meaning Mr. Harley.

and, because they dare not speak against the thing itself, yet are so punctilious with their dear friends, that they cry out loudly against the manner of it, and are mighty angry that the Queen was not acquainted with it. Sure a Prince of the blood should have applied to the Crown, they cry, and nothing was ever so indecent and ill-bred as the like; and if they had had patience, we should have invited him ourselves. Now all this is very merry. My intimate friend sends to invite me to dinner, and I, in friendship and familiarity, send to invite myself the same day; and this my dear friend takes extremely ill, thinks it a breach of all form and good breeding, turns my servant down stairs for bringing him the message, and yet sends me word he loves me as well as ever for all that: such stuff are silly rogues reduced to, when they dare not speak out. For this, God be thanked, is a plain thing, that they are not yet so strong as to dare to declare openly against this House.

Mr. Schutz arrived here on Saturday, and has brought the writ with him. He went on Tuesday to the Elector at his hunting seat, for he had not yet seen him. Whether the Prince will go or not, is, I am sure, not yet determined. People speak very differently of this matter, but in a week or ten days we shall know certainly. All that I can yet tell your Grace is, that he is very desirous himself to go, and I wish everybody else were as resolute in our favour. This is as certain as that I am with the truest respect, &c.

LADY COWPER TO THE DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH.

June 26, 1714.

Nobody in the world can be more grateful than I am for the favour of your Grace's letter, which I got last night from Mrs. Clayton. I heartily rejoice at your Grace's health, and I want words to tell you how delighted I am at that part of your letter which looks like giving the least colour to the agreeable news we have that your Grace intends soon to visit England again. I almost hope now you may come with safety, after the votes * that have passed within these four days. At least I hope our danger is not so near as we thought it, and my spirits are raised that I bear the excessive heat better than I did a week ago. I fancy your Grace must have been much surprised when you first heard of the resolution of the Parliament ; I think everybody here was thunderstruck with it, it was so unexpected ; and I cannot tell you how apish everybody is upon it. There are a thousand conjectures upon it, and perhaps every one false. But I think it is generally attributed to the ill understanding among great folks. For my share, if we are but safe, I care not from what cause it comes.

* * * * *

The prints to-day say that a certain person is come to the coast of France. I hope it is not true. If it is, we are in a worse condition than the brave

* " Probably the proclamation offering 50,000*l.* for the apprehension of the Pretender."—*Coxe*.

Catalans, for we have not virtue enough to make any resistance.

I agree with your Grace that that unfortunate people cannot be enough lamented, and I can hardly wish the Duke of Berwick to go against them, though it would quiet our minds; for I cannot but hope that Providence will do something for them yet.

I am infinitely obliged to your Grace for the kind offer you make me of getting me anything where you are. At present I happen to want nothing, so I will not trouble you for anything, only I beg you would bring my Duke and Duchess of *bon homme*; and it will be the most agreeable thing you can do in the world for me; and, to repeat your own words, the sooner the better.

Mr. Swift,* I am told, is retired to a vicarage he has in Northamptonshire, and complains that nothing but perjury, treachery, and lying, are to be met with in this town, which makes him resolved to try to find innocence in the country. When he complains, sure it must be very bad.

P. S. Reading over my letter, I perceive that your Grace will remark in three days' time it has been writing, how here, in this town, we are divided between hope and fear. It is a dismal condition to be always tormented with one of those passions. But in my experience I have found that one hopes and fears a thousand things that can never happen; and yet there is nothing but death that puts a stop to

* Swift retired from London in July.

either of them ; for all people in the world have passed their lives either in hoping or fearing, and will do so in spite of all experience. Pray God our fears may be without ground, for I doubt our hopes are so.

THE DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH TO MRS. CLAYTON.

1714 or 1715.

I know my dear Mrs. Clayton is full of business, however, I can't send a messenger to London without writing to you, and assuring you that I shall be ever most faithfully and tenderly yours, and I was sorry that I could not come to you before I went out of town ; but my hurry was very great, and the Duke of Marlborough had staid so long for me, that he was very peevish ; but now we are both very easy, and the first thing that came into my mind this morning I will repeat out of Mr. Cowley :—

'Tis no small prince, who every day,
Thus to himself can say,
Now will I sleep, now eat, now sit, now walk,
Now meditate alone, now with acquaintance talk.

You will, by this, see how different my fear is from those that are crowding for places ; and yet the world has so wrong a notion of me, as I was told, to believe that I wish for my old one : and I doubt the long whisper I had with her Royal Highness the night before I came away, will confirm them in that opinion, tho' the chief reason of it was to vindicate myself from what her Royal Highness seemed not

to believe, that I was ignorant of the Duchess of Montague's being of her bedchamber, which I again assured her that I was, and I took that occasion to tell her what I had designed to say to her after she had made her choice of all her ladies, that I hoped she would believe it was not for want of all the duty and respect imaginable, that none of my family had offered themselves to her Royal Highness, but the King not having given all the men employment, tho' they had great merit in having been always for his Majesty's interest, I did think it reasonable that her Royal Highness should oblige other families in letting them have the honour to wait upon her. Pray present my humble service and thanks to Mr. Clayton. I will make no speeches for the trouble he has in my affairs, believing he does not care for them no more than your faithful, S. M.

St. Alban's, October the 23rd.

Pray don't give yourself the trouble of writing to me, my dear Mrs. Clayton, if you have not time to do it easily, for tho' it is always a great satisfaction to me to hear from you, I would not have it when you are hurried, and I shall never impute the want of it to any thing but want of time.

DR. HARE TO THE DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH.

Amen Corner, Aug. 29, 1717.

Madam,

I am extremely obliged to your Grace for the honour of your letter of the 26th, in relation to the

bishoprick of Worcester. For myself I can truly say I had no manner of expectation that my request should succeed at this time ; but I have some friends I could not persuade to be of the same mind. In compliance with them I did what I did without proposing any other satisfaction to myself but that of knowing in what manner it would be received. My Lord Duke, considering the condition he is in, I should not have writ to, but that I could not very decently omit it, when I applied to others, but your Grace saw it was next to not writing at all, nor did I expect any answer at the time I writ to his Grace. Lord Godolphin and Lord Cadogan happened to be both in town : the latter told me with great professions of kindness, that he believed the thing was already promised, but that he was just going to Hampton Court, would try what could be done, and send me an answer, which he did in the civilest terms possible ; but the true answer I had from Lord Godolphin, who writ to my Lord Sunderland in my behalf like a true friend. His Lordship deferred his answer till he saw him, and then told him, that the thing was so fixed some time ago, that it could not be altered ; but if it had not been so, he could give his Lordship no hopes of my having it without first coming to an explanation with me. I own to your Grace, this last part of his Lordship's answer was so shocking to me, that I immediately set pen to paper and wrote a long letter to your Grace, who, I knew, was in the greatest intimacy with his Lord-

ship, complaining of such usage, where I thought I had so little reason to expect it ; but after I had writ the letter, I threw it aside, not thinking it reasonable to give your Grace any uneasiness on my account, nor very decent to express the resentments I could not but have on that occasion. But since your letter naturally leads me to it, give me leave, Madam, to say, that I did hope, that the fidelity and attachment I had shewn to my Lord Marlborough's interest for seven years past, to say nothing of former services, would have procured me a civil denial at least. But I see how it is, the friendship I have the honour to have had from a child with Lord Townshend, weighs more against me than all other things can do for me ; if it must be so I must be contented ; false and ungrateful to friends, because, under the displeasure of a court, I have not been yet, and should I begin to be so now, I am sure your Grace would scorn me for it. You know, Madam, upon principle I have acted. I endeavoured to serve my friends, not in the height of their power, when it would have been serving myself ; but at a time when I could expect no reward, but the resentments of an arbitrary ministry, and the ill-will of their whole party ; which I can't say I should have been so forward to draw on myself, could I have foreseen those I thought my friends, would so soon forget that, which I am sure my enemies will remember.

But to return to Lord Sunderland, I believe his

Lordship would think me very dull if I did not interpret his answer as a declaration that I am to expect no favour during his ministry ; indeed, had it not been his resolution to defeat my expectations, I am fully satisfied his Lordship would not have been in such violent haste to procure a promise of Worcester before it was void. If this be in earnest his Lordship's meaning, I beg it as the last favour of your Grace, plainly to tell me so ; and in that case I most faithfully promise never more to give your Grace the least trouble on my account.

If I am to expect as little favour from a Whig ministry as from a Tory one, it shall be my comfort, that I am conscious to myself, I have not deserved it : I have not deserted my friends ; whether they have me, the world will judge. But I say not this to reproach your Grace, whom I have always found more ready to do favours, than I have been to ask them, of which I shall always retain so grateful a sense, that no usage from others shall make me in any thing act contrary to what I have so long professed myself.

FR. HARE.

Be pleased, Madam, to give my most humble duty to his Grace.

THE DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH TO BISHOP BURNET.*

You ask what it was that first stuck with me : I never had any difficulty or dispute with Her, but

* " In this letter the Duchess frankly avows that she never or very

about such things as were plainly for her own good, or about the Whig cause, which she was always averse to in her nature, but would certainly have come into at last, when she was persuaded to it by those men that had governed her so long, if it had not been for the secret influence of Mrs. Masham and Mr. Harley, which was a dead weight upon all the councils. The narrative in 1709, shews the beginning and true cause of all the difficulties I met with, which was the Queen's secret passion for Mrs. Masham, and the ill and crafty use which that base woman made of it. At the same time that the Queen would not own that she had any kindness for her, but as a bedchamber woman, till she suffered her insolently to prefer in my office a woman that had served me formerly, and had been ungrateful to me for the favors I had done her. I have not all my papers here, but as soon as I can I will send you copies of every thing. You ask what were the schemes proposed. I had no scheme of any kind, but to get honest men into the service, and such as would not give us up to France. And if it be that I was too warm and pressing in that matter, it should be considered at the same time, that I had long had opportunities of knowing men and their particular actions, and there were some employed by the Queen at first that I actually knew were against the government. How then could I honestly be rarely succeeded in her endeavours to recommend the Whigs till the ministers themselves came into it at last, though she followed it very closely with them as well as with her Majesty."—*Coxe*.

silent, or how better employ my interest and credit than in getting her Majesty out of such hands, though I must tell you, I never, or very rarely succeeded in any endeavour of this kind, till the ministers themselves came into it at last, though I followed it very closely with them, as well as with her Majesty. As to the names, Morley and Freeman, the Queen herself was always uneasy if I said the word Highness or Majesty, and would say from the first how awkward it was to write every day in the terms of Princess, &c. And when she chose the name merely for herself, for no reason that I remember, but that she liked it, or the sound of it, I am not sure that I did not choose the other with some regard to my own humour, which it seems in some sort to express.

You enquire into the ground of favour to the Hills. I can only tell you that I did not know there were such people till about twenty years ago, when I was told by an acquaintance that I had relations that were in want, and that this woman was a daughter of my father's sister. My father had, in all, two-and-twenty brothers and sisters, and though I am very little concerned about pedigrees or family, I know not why I should not tell you, that his was reckoned a good one, and that he had in Somersetshire, Kent, and St. Alban's, four thousand pounds a year. However, it was not strange, that when the children were so many, their portions were small, and that one of them married this Mr. Hill,

who had some business in the city, either as a merchant or proprietor, and was some way related to Mr. Harley, and by profession an anabaptist. From the time I knew their condition, I helped them every way, as much as I could, to which I had no motive but charity and relationship. But after I brought this woman into the court, she always had a shy reserved behaviour towards me, always avoided entering into free conversation, and made excuses, when I asked her to go abroad with me. And what I thought then ill-breeding, or surly honesty, has since proved to be a design deeply laid, as she had always the artifice to hide very carefully the power and influence which she had over the Queen. An instance of which I remember, when I was with the Queen at Windsor, and went through my own lodgings a private way and unexpected. She unlocked the door in a loud familiar manner, and was tripping across the room with a gay air, but upon seeing me, she immediately stopped short, and acting a part like a player, dropped a grave curtesey, and when she had gone a good way without making any, and in a faint low voice, cried, "Did your Majesty ring, pray?" And to cover still her power with the Queen, even after she married, when I asked her whether her Majesty knew of her marriage before it was done, she looked up to the ceiling a good while, in a confused awkward manner, and then said, Yes, the Queen taxed her with it, and she believed the bedchamber women had told it her:

the truth was, that her Majesty was present at the marriage, with no other worthy person, but the Scotch doctor, and had called for so much money more than usual just before, that it is reasonable to conclude, good part of it was laid out upon that great occasion, and at the time that I came to present her sister, I asked where the Queen was, and if she would not go to her, upon which she stared back as if she had been a stranger in the place, and had hardly known the way to the Queen's closet. And this whole time Mrs. Masham took all occasions to say that sure no family was ever so much obliged to another as hers was to me. The Queen was still professing that she was not the least altered. I was groom of the stole, she but a dresser ; my relation, that owed everything to me, was married without my knowledge, and her Majesty, that never for thirty years kept anything from me, concealed this important secret, till I had it from other hands. But a good deal of this is mentioned in another paper, and if there be repetition in this, I hope you will pardon me, because it is impossible for me to remember all the papers I send you. You have already another paper of her ingratitude, and I can add no more to it, unless it be that Mr. Masham owed to me the first three things he had at court, page, equerry, and groom of the bedchamber ; at least he thanked me for them all, even the last, for which he has very honourably taken Lord Ryalton's employment, who must now depend in great mea-

sure on his friends for his support, and he is very unlikely even to have given any offence to her Majesty or anybody else.

I observe that you take notice of my not attending so much as others have done, and give some good reasons for it, to which may be added, I did constantly write abundance of letters, in answer to the petitions and applications that were made, by which her Majesty was pleased, because I saved her a great deal of trouble, and if, besides this, the time be considered that I passed in seeing her in private, which is what she always desired most, it will answer more than the attendance of other people. And if I had been a diligent waiter in public, I should never have had a moment to do anything for myself.

I will send you, in a short time, a great many more papers, and one in particular in which you yourself are concerned, giving an account of some conversation which I had with the Queen upon your subject. I cannot recollect the time, not having the paper here, further than it was soon after Mr. How died ; and after Lady Fretcheville went to see Mrs. Young at Salisbury.

Endorsed.—An answer to the person that asked me what first stuck with me.

This was written to a friend of mine,* part of instructions to write a history, which he did write, but not near so well as that which he wrote after I left England.

* Bishop Burnet. The Duchess of Marlborough, who was extremely anxious that the secret history of her quarrel with the

Queen should have a place in History, was in the habit of writing numerous Narratives, Memorials, &c., some of which she now communicated to Bishop Burnet, who was occupied with the "History of his own Times;" and the substance of many of them were given in the "Conduct," written afterwards under her own eye. Many of the original Narratives are still preserved among her papers, and from them the following Characters of her Contemporaries have been selected.

CHARACTERS OF HER CONTEMPORARIES,

BY THE DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH.

ON THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH'S DISMISSAL FROM
ALL HIS EMPLOYMENTS IN 1712.

THIS removal of the Duke of Marlborough was justly looked upon as a finishing stroke, and an effectual declaration that every thing was now to be in concert with France. Every thing, indeed, seemed dictated from thence, and every step looked more and more like the counsels of Versailles. But I enter no further into what all the world was afterwards a witness to.

The fatal period had now the finishing stroke. The noblest scheme that was ever laid for the preservation and establishment of the liberties of Europe, for reducing the exorbitant power of France, for the security of Great Britain and the protestant religion for ages to come from any probable attempt, and a scheme that had been blessed beyond all expectation, that had proceeded gloriously, and was now come within view of the great ends proposed, this scheme was now all at once dissolved, and broken to pieces ; chiefly I may say by the un-

bounded ambition and resentment of one man, and by the weakness, credulity, and inconsistency of one woman.

When I reflect upon all this, I sometimes think with myself, that when posterity shall come to read the annals of our times, a scene of glory, conquest, and victory without intermission, at last ending in this manner, were there not authentic records to the contrary, they must certainly conclude that just in the most unhappy crisis Queen Anne the wise, the good, the just, the honourable, unfortunately died ; and that she was succeeded by another of the same name, but of a temper and principles directly opposite ; one who loved only those whom her predecessor hated, and hated those whom she loved ; one glorying in breaking the contracts and unravelling the scheme in which her predecessor had triumphed ; one taking a pride in raising those up, whom she had cast down as public enemies, and in casting those to the earth whom she had seated on thrones ; one, in a word, untouched with the miseries of her country and posterity ; unmoved with the unhappiness of the world about her ; giving back, as it were, in sport, all the glories and victories purchased with her subjects' blood and treasure, and abusing them to their own unhappiness and misery ; one incapable of either understanding or following the good counsels which had made her predecessor so great ; but selfish, passionate, headstrong, preferring the satisfaction of her own private

humour, or resentment, before the safety of her own people, and of all Europe. But when they shall be assured by all the monuments and records of history, that this was one and the same Queen Anne, who filled the whole period of time : the same, who, after having fought so long and so successfully against France, raised it to a greater pitch of power than it ever enjoyed before ; the same who, after having made Charles, King of Spain, presently dethroned him ; the same who, after having entered into the most solemn alliances and contracts, broke through them with so much resolution and ease ; the same who, after having owed the quiet and security of her life to her great general, and other faithful ministers, afterwards rewarded them with all the ignominy and disgrace she could heap upon them ; the same who—but I am weary of recounting these unpleasant things. When posterity comes to be assured of this, will it not shock and surprise them ? And will not many be apt to ask, what part her justice had in this procedure ? What her piety ? What her gratitude ? What her honour ? What her faith ? And what her constancy ?

I will give no further answer to these questions, but what these papers have already given. Facts speak too plainly to be denied or obscured. A short character of that Princess, drawn from these facts, and some other notices, of the truth of which I am certain, shall now conclude these memoirs.

Queen Anne had a person and appearance not

at all ungraceful, till she grew exceeding gross and corpulent. There was something of majesty in her look, but mixed with a sullen and constant frown, that plainly betrayed a gloominess of soul, and a cloudiness of disposition within. She seemed to inherit a good deal of her father's moroseness, which naturally produced in her the same sort of stubborn positiveness in many cases, both ordinary and extraordinary, as well as the same sort of bigotry in religion.

Her memory was exceeding great, almost to a wonder, and had these two peculiarities very remarkable in it, that she could, whenever she pleased, forget what others would have thought themselves obliged by truth and honour to remember, and remember all such things as others would think it an happiness to forget. Indeed she chose to retain in it very little besides ceremonies and customs of courts, and such like insignificant trifles; so that her conversation, which otherwise might have been enlivened by so great a memory, was only made the more empty and trifling by its chiefly turning upon *fashions* and rules of precedence, or observations upon the weather, or some such poor topics, without any variety or entertainment. Upon which account it was a sort of unhappiness to her that she naturally loved to have a great crowd come to her; for when they were come to Court, she never cared to have them come in to her, nor to go out herself to them, having little to say to them, but that it

was either hot or cold ; and little to inquire of them, but how long they had been in town, or the like weighty matters. She never discovered any readiness of parts, either in asking questions, or in giving answers. In matters of ordinary moment, her discourse had nothing of brightness or wit ; and in weightier matters, she never spoke but in a hurry, and had a certain knack of sticking to what had been dictated to her, to a degree often very disagreeable, and without the least sign of understanding or judgment.

Her letters were very indifferent, both in sense and spelling, unless that they were generally enlivened with a few passionate expressions, sometimes pretty enough, but repeated over and over again, without the mixture of anything either of diversion or instruction.

Her civility and good manners in conversation (to which the education of great persons naturally leads) were general enough till in her latter days her new friends untaught her these accomplishments, and then her whole deportment was visibly changed to that degree, that when some things disagreeable to her own honour or passion have been laid before her, she would descend to the lowest and most shocking forms of contradiction ; and what, in any of a meaner station, would have been esteemed the height of unpoliteness.

Her friendships were flames of extravagant passion, ending in indifference or aversion. Her love

to the Prince seemed, in the eye of the world, to be prodigiously great ; and great as was the passion of her grief, her stomach was greater ; for that very day he died she eat three very large and hearty meals, so that one would think that as other persons' grief takes away their appetites, her appetite took away her grief. Nor was it less remarkable where there was so great an appearance of love, the peculiar pleasure she took before his funeral in settling the order of it, and naming the persons that were to attend, and placing them according to their rank and to the rules of precedence, which was the entertainment she gave herself every day till that solemnity was over.

I know that in some libels she had been reproached as one who indulged herself in drinking strong liquors, but I believe this was utterly groundless, and that she never went beyond such a quantity of strong wines as her physicians judged to be necessary for her.

Her religion was chiefly implicit faith and subjection, accompanied with the form and course of a sort of piety. She had a zeal for the church as for an infallible guide, and a devotion for churchmen to such a degree, as if she thought this sufficient to sanctify every other part of her conduct ; and the churchmen repaid her civility in compliments and adorations ; for I have often blushed both for her and for her preachers, when I have heard it almost constantly, with the most fulsome flattery, affirmed

to her face, and to her satisfaction, that all we enjoyed was granted by Almighty God as the reward of her piety and religion. And, indeed, if religion consist in such zeal and such devotion, or in punctual and formal preparations for the Communion, or thelike, (as she had learnt, without doubt, from such tutors as she had been blessed with,) then it cannot be denied that she had as much religion as well could be lodged in one breast.

But if religion be justice, truth, sincerity, honour, gratitude, or the like, then one cannot tell what to say; but let her practice speak for herself, her broken vows, her violated alliances, her behaviour to her old friends at home, her conduct to her good allies abroad, and the returns she made to her native country for an immense treasure of money and blood, spent for the vindication of her title, and the security of her life. She would speak in public of her zeal for her Protestant succession, and once she surprised the nation with the news of a particular friendship between herself and the House of Hanover; but God knows what she meant, unless it was to delude the ignorant and unsuspicious part of her people; for as for heart, there was proof enough in due time, that that was engaged at another Court: there was little of it left for that House; and it came to be accounted an affront to herself, to name it in addresses to the throne. In most cases she was insensible of what related to the public, and could, with great coldness and tranquillity, let an express

that was known to come with any important good news lie unopened for half an hour, though she was alone, and had nothing in the world to do, whilst all about her were waiting with the utmost impatience to know the contents of it.

) She loved fawning and adoration, and hated plain dealing, even in the most important cases. She had a soul that nothing could so effectually move as flattery or fear. A sudden surprise, in an unguarded moment, would make the truth sometimes discover itself in her look, or in some unlucky word ; but if she had time and warning enough to learn her lesson, all the arguments and reason in the world could extort nothing from her that she had not a mind to acknowledge. In such cases, she seemed to have the insensibility of a rock, and would resolutely dissemble or disown anything in the world, and, by repeating one single answer in the same words, could tire out the patience, and elude all such enquiries as were disagreeable to herself.

She had no native generosity of temper, nor was often known of herself to do a handsome action, either as a reward, or as a piece of friendship. The diligence and faithfulness of a servant signified but little with her, where she had no passion for the person. Nor did she hardly ever think either of rewarding any because they were deserving, or of raising any, because they were miserable, till such things were urged upon her by those whom she loved. And even to such as she professed to love,

her presents were very few, and generally very insignificant, as fruit, or venison, or the like, unless in cases where she was directed by precedents in the former reigns.

In a word, she had little zeal for the happiness of others, but a selfishness that was great enough to make every other consideration yield to it. She was headstrong and positive in matters of the utmost importance, and at last preferred her own humour and passion before the safety and happiness of her own people and of all Europe, which she had either not sense enough to see, or not goodness enough to regard. Whether her memory will be celebrated by posterity with blessings or curses, time will show.*

Lord Godolphin had conducted the Queen, with the care and tenderness of a father, or a guardian, through a state of helpless ignorance, and had faithfully served her in all her difficulties before she was Queen, as well as greatly contributed to the glories she had to boast of after she was so. But there was no sense left now of such matters, nor any memory of those past services which she had used to think invaluable, a long series of services perhaps the most disinterested that were ever performed by any prime minister to any prince upon earth.

He was a man of few words, but of a remarkable

* "By the date of 1712. The latter part was probably written by St. Priest, and was partly what she shewed to Mr. Walpole."—*Coxe*.

thoughtfulness and sedateness of temper ; of great application to business, and of such despatch in it, as to give pleasure to those who attended him upon any affair ; of wonderful frugality in the public concerns, but of no great carefulness about his own. He affected being useful without popularity ; and the inconsiderable sum of money, above his paternal estate, which he left at his death, shewed that he had been indeed the nation's treasurer, and not his own, and effectually confuted the vile calumnies of his enemies and successors.

[Lord Chancellor Cowper's resignation was received by the Queen with a great seeming reluctance ; but he was too wise not to be sensible that all this concern was only upon politic reasons, for the present, and would vanish as soon as his successor should be ready for the post, and the terms fixed upon which he was to come into it.

The Duke of Marlborough's friend, Mr. de Cardonnell, was removed from being Secretary at War, and Mr. Granville put in his place, one perfectly unskilled in the business, and a known Jacobite ; but a flatterer of the new great man at Court, as well as an enemy to the Duke, which, to be sure, was thought on, both to disturb the Duke's mind, and the progress of affairs in which he was at this time engaged abroad.


These two were the chief agents in all that followed. But under them were several to whose different passions, tempers, and capacities, Mr. Harley (who knew as much as any one living of the secret of managing the corruptions of human nature) had very soon applied with good success all proper weights and motives.

\ The Duchess of Somerset was near the Queen's person ; she had her ear whenever she pleased, she was soft and complaisant, full of fine words and low courtesies ; and could by art and insinuation (seemingly unaffected, and free from malice or passion) make all such disadvantageous impressions sink the deeper into her mistress's heart.

What she had fixed her eyes and her wishes upon was the office of Groom of the Stole, as yet possessed by the Duchess of Marlborough ; but she covered the impertinence of her expectation and ambition within, with the outward guise of lowliness and good humour. And being assured that when the change was made, she should be Groom of the Stole, this made her Grace very industrious in doing all manner of mischief, but at the same time she acted her part so well that she would solemnly lament the misunderstandings between the Queen and the Duchess of Marlborough, whom she did her utmost to undermine, though in the beginning of the Queen's reign, she had made her a lady of the bedchamber after she had refused it, and after the number was filled up. And when a certain great man had

resolved to have the Duke of Somerset removed from being master of the horse, as he affirmed, for telling the secrets of the cabinet council, the Duchess of Marlborough gave the Duchess of Somerset timely notice of it, and prevented the blow. The Duke of Somerset was out of humour, I don't remember for what, and left the Court. But the Duchess stayed behind him, and enjoyed not only the post for which she had ignominiously sacrificed her truth and honour ; but also with it, a degree of royal favour, which these new ministers personally began to envy, and to be jealous of. This was plain from the lampoons their agents published against her at first, though they thought afterwards to let her remain in quiet, finding that her fawning, submissive, flattering way of conversation had gained too great an ascendant over the Queen for them to venture the experiment of making her so soon uneasy again.

I cannot forget here, that this great lady managed her ambition so cunningly, that she contrived not to be at Court when the Duchess of Marlborough was to be dismissed, that it might seem to those, who could see no further than the outside of things, as if she had neither any hand nor any view in that matter ; and as if she had no aim at the office of groom of the stole, but was sought after for it, without any inclination of her own. She had her end at length ; but it was dearly purchased at the price of so much artifice and meanness of soul. And it



seems, it was a post that could move the ambition of more than one. For, besides, that it might be concluded from the abuse the Duchess of Somerset presently met with, that Mrs. Masham herself had an eye upon it, and was making her way to it by due degrees; it is certain that there were three other ladies, viz., the Duchess of Ormond, the Lady Rochester, (then Lady Hyde,) and Lady Fretcheville, who were all vain enough to set their thoughts upon it, and were ungrateful enough to do all ill offices to one, to whom they had frequently acknowledged under their own hands very great obligations, in order to obtain it.

(The Duchess of Ormond* had none of the qualifications either of a good woman or an agreeable friend. But the Duchess of Marlborough was touched with her misfortunes, and brought her into the Queen's bedchamber with very great difficulty; because the ladies of the bedchamber were already fixed upon. And this she did, because the Duchess requested it of her; and represented to her how hard her case was then, that this honour would give her a great advantage among her lord's family, who used her very ill, and would be an inducement to her lord himself to treat her more kindly than he did. The Duchess of Marlborough thought it a very pitiable case, and persuaded the Queen to put her in the room of another lady. Yet all this

* Lady Mary Somerset, daughter of the Duke of Beaufort, and second wife of the Duke of Ormond.

was forgot. That Duchess employed her small talents in the common work of calumny, when the season came, and descended to so low a degree of courtship to the new favourite, as to think herself happy if she could but have the honour (which she frequently had) to carry with her in her coach Mrs. Masham's child and nurse airing to Datchet Ferry. Whilst the mother was so morose and peevish, that she would not vouchsafe herself to keep her Grace company. So mean and servile a thing is pride itself, and so low could this great lady stoop for her own poor ends; who was even remarkable for a height of temper, and particularly for the ridiculous vanity of boasting that she came from the blood of the Plantagenets, though, if it were so, all agreed it must have been from some bastard of that blood.

| As for Lady Rochester,* she had heretofore almost broke her heart with the strong desire she had of being lady of the bedchamber, and the Duchess of Marlborough had pitied her uneasiness so far, as to obtain this favour for her. In return for which, after the highest professions of esteem and friendship, she likewise lent a helping hand to the good work of defaming and removing her benefactress. But she was of too little credit, and of too little consequence, to obtain what she aimed at by so vile a proceeding. The last of the

* Jane, sister of John, Lord Gower, married to Henry Hyde, second Earl of Rochester.

three, Lady Fretcheville, was likewise brought to Court at first by the Duchess of Marlborough. And not only this, but after the Princess was Queen, the Duchess, by her solicitation, obtained for her a more considerable thing than ever she obtained for any other person, and at a time when the Queen very much despised her. The return she made, was not only to pay all degrees of courtship to the Duchess's greatest enemy, Mrs. Masham, but to spread with a malicious zeal all manner of the greatest falsehoods about her. In which laudable work this good lady had always shown a very peculiar talent, and acquired an established reputation. But none of these three could, either by their fawnings, or their flatteries, or their calumnies, obtain the great end they now aimed at.

Another great man, who was immediately engaged in this new scheme, was the Duke of Shrewsbury, a man of a very different character from the rest in this scheme, with respect to his abilities, and a sort of an appearance of wisdom. He had been abroad at Rome for many years, and brought over with him, at his return, a very old woman, his wife, (an Italian Papist, who had upon this marriage professed herself a Protestant. Her ambition, to be sure, rose upon such a marriage, and his covetousness, which was the prevailing bias in his constitution, and had increased upon him with years, made

him now capable of receiving offers to his advantage with readiness enough. He had great obligations to Lords Marlborough and Godolphin, and either had no uneasiness with them, or else had the art to hide it perfectly well. At the beginning of the Queen's reign those two lords kept vacant for some time the post of master of the horse, and made him the offer of it more than once, inviting him home, that he should bear a part in the administration. But whether he did not think it advisable to embark with them till he saw what turn the affairs of a new Court would take, or whatever else was the reason, he then excused himself either from want of health, or some other frivolous pretence, and so that post was disposed of to the Duke of Somerset. Indeed, the Duchess of Marlborough had another reason given her at that time by Mr. Berkeley, who assured her he had often heard it from the Duke's own mother, that her son had reconciled himself to the Church of Rome. But this made little impression upon one, who could not at that time think so ill of him. His letters to the Duke of Marlborough not only before, but since he came home, were full of the highest regard and esteem and the greatest friendship.

I knew the time since his return to England, when he esteemed his proxy in the Duke's hands much more sure to vote for the public good, than

if he were present himself to give his vote, and declared that if any thing could give him a tolerable opinion of his own judgment in public affairs, it would be the reflection that in the many parliaments he had had the honour to sit with his Grace, he could not recollect that they had ever differed. But now the opportunity was irresistible ; and nothing within of love was enough, against the pressure of so great a temptation, though he had received no sort of provocation either real or pretended from the ministry to give any alleviation to his guilt. For the Duke and Duchess of Marlborough and Lord Godolphin had lived particularly well with him, and his Roman Duchess, ever since his return. Nay, these two Lords had regarded him to so great a degree, that they were hardly easy without putting him into some considerable post. But those with whom they were now engaged, thought that his long stay at Rome, and his strange marriage there, gave them good reason to be jealous of him, till he had been tried for some time, whether he still adhered to the principles of the Revolution, in which he had borne a considerable part. Those Lords had endeavoured very heartily to overcome that difficulty, and the Duke seemed perfectly satisfied with their conduct towards him. There was but one thing which he could possibly resent. His Duchess, who had a foreign assurance to ask, as well as to say any thing, though never so improper,

took upon her to solicit that her Lord might have a pension. But, considering his estate, and that he had no family, this was thought highly unreasonable, and so was not granted.

Without doubt he had cunning enough, in a very little time, to discover that the Queen's inclinations began to be very much altered towards the Marlborough family ; as well as to see in what channel it was likely to run for the future ; and art enough to improve his observations to his own advantage. But it looked as if he was resolved to search that matter to the bottom, before he thoroughly embarked in the designs of their enemies. This seemed to be the only intent of a particular visit he made to the Duchess of Marlborough in the beginning of the winter of 1709, in which he put on the guise of the greatest value and friendship for her ; filling his conversation with the words respect and veneration, and the like, but particularly entering into much discourse about the misunderstanding between the Queen and her. He spoke with great concern about it ; and at length asked her, if it were possible for her to recover the favour she seemed to have lost, and to be reconciled to the Queen ? The Duchess, in her very open and too sincere manner, for such politicians, frankly told him, that she looked upon it as absolutely impossible, considering the interest Mrs. Masham had with the Queen, and the management of another behind the curtain.

She said she often remembered those verses of Dryden's,

"Forgiveness to th' injur'd doth belong,
They never pardon, who have done the wrong."

That for her part, she knew she had done no wrong, unless a faithful and hearty service, with the utmost plain dealing, were a wrong, and that Queens are never suffered to think they do wrong ; and that, upon these accounts, she looked upon that matter to be past retrieve, and the wound given to their friendship too deep ever to be healed up. The Duke, with an air of friendship, pretended to wonder that the Queen could not be brought to a sense of her unkindness ; and heartily condemned the usage the Duchess had met with : adding, that Mrs. Masham had undertaken a work, which he believed she could never go through with, and that the Queen would never be in so good hands as those of the Duchess, with a great appearance of approving all that she had been saying in her own vindication. But yet, after this, *He*, who used before to come twice a week, never came more to see her Grace. He did not, indeed, after this, enter into the railing part ; but still kept up the decorum of speaking well and civilly of the Duke and Duchess of Marlborough and Lord Godolphin. Yet, his Duchess made court visibly to Mrs. Masham, and ran in with the popular cry of censuring and railing at the Duchess of Marlborough, as the most grateful topic at Court, in this critical

juncture. In the midst of which, she would sometimes, in proper places, run out into themes of high civility and compliment, which were known too well to be such as the Duke had taught her, in order to hide the part they both were acting. This woman was big with the expectation of being one of the ladies of the bedchamber, when the desired alteration could be brought about; and with that view humbled herself to the lowest degree of fawning and flattery; even in too gross and nauseous a manner to succeed. For there were those about the Queen, who could not bear it; and so, in that particular, disappointed her ambition, and her Lord's covetousness. The Duke, however, pursued his point; and from the time of that last conversation with the Duchess of Marlborough, it was very evident that his views and his expectations were turned from his old friends. He had, indeed, run through a course of the warmest professions of zeal and friendship for the ministers. But now, all his good sense was not enough to hinder him from joining himself in the basest manner to the counsels of their vilest enemies for their destruction.

This Duke was one of the principal persons who was immediately brought in to forward that change which was afterwards brought about. He had acquired a sort of reputation for wisdom, which added a weight and reputation to their proceedings. It is hardly worth while to mention two other lords

who, being discontented that favours and rewards were not heaped upon them by the ministry, became mere tools to promote the designs of their enemies. The one was Lord Rivers, a man scandalous and vile in his character to a very low degree, of no better reputation than a common cheat or pickpocket ; having robbed his own father, and gone under the name of Tyburn Dick for many years. The other was Lord Peterborough, a man who, to the same vileness of soul, had joined a sort of *knight errantry*, that made up a very odd sort of composition. One, who had wasted his fortune and worn out his credit, and had nothing left but so much resolution and so little honour as made him capable of anything they had to put upon him.

Besides the assistance of these and others about the Court, one great piece of art was to spread the vilest calumnies and falsest stories of those who were to be attacked all over the nation. For which purpose some under-workmen of prostituted consciences and hardened faces were necessary. They were not long seeking for such, when once the power of rewarding was seen to be in their hands, or to be certainly coming to them. The Rev. Mr. Swift and Mr. Prior quickly offered themselves to sale, (besides a number of more ordinary scribblers,) both men of wit and parts ready to prostitute all they had in the service of well-rewarded scandal, being both of a composition past tl n of

blushing, or of stumbling at anything for the interest of their new masters. The former of these had long ago turned all religion into a Tale of a Tub, and sold it for a jest. But he had taken it ill, that the ministry had not promoted him in the Church for the great zeal he had shown for religion by his profane drollery; and so carried his atheism and his humour into the service of their enemies. They were now raising a great outcry against the profaneness and deism, and the like. And one of the first of their tools to be encouraged and promoted was a lewd libertine, and an open ridiculer of all inspiration. The other, Mr. Prior, was quickly taken off from writing by other business they had for him in France. But it was thought, with good reason, that he wrote some of those vile *Examiners* in which the Duke and Duchess of Marlborough were so beyond all measure and all example abused. Nay, before this, the Duchess thought she had good reason to think him the author of a vile libel against herself. And notwithstanding all his submissions and all his protestations (of which he was very free) she continued still to think so.

In 1709, he wrote to the Duke, assuring him, "that he placed the welfare of his life in the assurance he had that he continued still in his Grace's favour; begging either to be restored to the place he once had, or to be sent to Florence, or to be disposed of as his Grace should see fit; intreat-

ing that he might have leave to throw himself at the Duchess's feet, with the most solemn protestation (as his own words are !) averring that he had ever esteemed her as one of the best of women, and would justify that esteem with his life." X

In the same letter, speaking of the loss of his office, he had these words, "Fare it well, I still subsist, God Almighty bless your goodness and bounty for it," and to the same purpose in other letters. The Duke, indeed, had so particularly regarded him, as to procure him a pension of 500*l.* a-year, after he was removed from being one of the commissioners for trade ; and he had made more submissive court to the Duke and Duchess than almost any other. But, when their enemies opened the scene, he immediately joined them, and made the vilest returns to him, to whom he had long owed his very subsistence. But it is enough to say, that the first part of his education was in a tavern, and that he had a soul as low as his education, incapable of anything truly great or honourable.

These, and such like under them, were by lampoons and libels to disperse all possible scandal throughout the nation about a ministry which had raised the Queen's glory to an height unknown to any of her predecessors. They were to add to this an hideous outcry about the danger of the Church, the increase of profaneness, the encouragement of infidelity, the growth of republican and antimonarchical principles, and God knows what. Any-

thing, in short, that might raise a ferment where it was not, or increase it where it was. And all this, to add a reputation and popularity to what the grand master* of the whole machine was now bringing to a head at Court, where he found himself by this time possessed both of the Queen's ear and heart, as much as he could wish.

He had now waited as long as his own private affairs could possibly permit. All things were safe. The Queen thoroughly alienated from her old servants, and ready to receive any impression against them. Mrs. Masham, the great and supreme favourite, and Mr. Harley himself admitted into consultation. All manner of open railing against the ministry encouraged; the continuance of a heavy and expensive war abroad, and everything bad at home, laid to their charge. A notion universally prevailed of the Queen's own uneasiness at their proceedings; and a dissatisfaction scattered throughout the nation by these means. The stroke, to be sure, could not have been long deferred; and without doubt, resolutions had been taken in the private consultations at Court, to put an end to the poor Queen's uneasy condition, as well as the Church's imaginary danger. But there was an accident, very lucky for them, which determined them to the precise time of doing this, and gave them still greater advantages than they could have hoped for.

* Mr. Harley.

The ministry finding themselves perpetually abused from the pulpits as well as the press, resolved to attempt to put some stop to such insolence by the impeachment and trial of Dr. Henry Sacheverel, for vilely abusing the late Revolution and the glorious instrument of it ; for insulting the administration, endeavouring to destroy the toleration, and proclaiming the danger of the Church, to alarm the people against their governors. All this was owned to be the design of the sermon for which he was impeached, both by his friends and by his enemies, and boasted of by the former and by himself before the trial ; as he himself was rewarded for the attack in due time after it. The delay of the trial, and the unreasonable and pompous preparation for it, gave time enough to the new projectors to send about all their tools to raise hideous outcries, as if both church and state were now attacked, and to scatter the notion, which did most mischief, of the Queen's own uneasiness and the like.

The poison spread itself incredibly. It was no very difficult matter for such cunning masters of mischief, with the help of all discontented Tories, Jacobites, Papists, and indigent under-workmen, to put the nation into a very terrible ferment.

Of the man himself no more need be said, than that he had not one good quality that any man of sense ever valued him for. He once professed him-

self a great Whig. But King William dying, he thought best to change with the torrent. It must be owned that a person more fitted for a tool, could not have been picked out of the whole nation. For he had not learning enough to write or speak true English, (as all his own compositions witness,) but a heap of bombast, ill-connected words at command, which do excellently well with such as he was to move. He had so little sense, as even to design and effect that popularity, which now became his portion, and which a wise and good man knows not how to bear with. He had a haughty insolent air, which his friends found occasion often to complain of; but it made his presence more graceful in public.

His person was framed well for his purposes, and he dressed well. A good assurance, clean gloves, white handkerchief well managed, with other suitable accomplishments, moved the hearts of many at his appearance, and the solemnity of a trial added much to a pity and concern which had nothing in reason or justice to support them. The weaker part of the ladies were more like mad or bewitched, than like persons in their senses.

At length, by the help of proper officers and tools, great mobs and tumults were raised, to whose outrages and violence nothing more conduced than a prevailing opinion, artfully spread amongst them, that one above was herself on the side of these dis-

orders. Here there was a machine for the great projector to move ; and it was so dexterously moved that the whole nation was moved with it.

Several eminent clergymen, who despised the man in their hearts, were engaged to stand publicly by him in the face of the world, as if the poor Church of England was now tried in him. A speech exquisitely contrived to move pity, was put into his mouth, full of an impious piety, denying the greatest part of the charge (which the man had been known to boast of before) with solemn appeals to God, and such applications of Scripture as would make any serious person tremble. Every one immediately guessed the real author of it from the manner of using Scripture so profanely, and from the frequent calling of God to witness to what was known to be false. And perhaps there was but one man in England capable of making such a speech. And but one proud man of lowness of soul enough to descend to speak it. This speech was ready printed, contrary to all rule and decency, dispersed over the nation by himself, and had a great part in heightening our disorders. The sentence passed upon him could have been no punishment to any man, but one who was full of his own excellences, and never thought himself so great as in a pulpit.

Everybody knows that he was afterwards sent about several counties ; where, with his usual grace, he received as his due, the homage and adoration of multitudes ; never thinking that respect enough

was paid to his great merit, using some of his friends insolently, and raising mobs against his enemies, and giving ample proof of how great meanness the bulk of mankind is capable ; putting on the air of a saint upon a lewd, drunken, pampered man, dispersing his blessings to all his worshippers, and his kisses to some ; taking their good money as fast as it could be brought in, drinking their best wines, eating of their best provisions without reserve, and without temperance. And, what completed the farce, complaining in the midst of this scene of luxury and triumph, as the old fat monk did, over a hot venison pasty, in his barbarous Latin, “*Heu quanta patimus pro Ecclesia.*” Oh, what dreadful things do we undergo for the sake of the Church !

This engine proving so fortunate, and the nation being now raised to a violent heat of mad passion for the church and crown, there was no longer any doubt of giving the finishing stroke to the designs which had been long in agitation.

In this account, which is all the historian’s, he has not shown any tenderness for Queen Anne, and it will be very difficult to reconcile the character he has given her with *that* I have given her on the statue at Blenheim, and therefore I will say what I can in justification of both, in case this history, or any part of it, should be printed after I am dead.

An historian, if he writes at all, ought to write the facts, or he should not pretend to give an account of them to posterity. All he relates is exactly the truth, and the inscription I have put on the pedestal was likewise true. But as I had great obligations to the Queen, I thought it unbecoming in me to relate anything to her disadvantage, whatever the annals of those times would make appear, that I could not help. For everybody must know what she said from the throne, the insincere assurances she gave her allies, and the treatment in discharging those faithful servants of whom she had more than twenty years' experience ; and at last, how, by the advice of my Lord Oxford, she was brought to throw away all the successes she had gained in the wars at a time when she was so very near ruining the power of France, as never to leave it able to impose anything to the disadvantage of England. But notwithstanding all these wonderful things, brought about by a low chambermaid, by the direction of cunning men that wanted to come into great places and power themselves, they certainly laid the foundation of all the mischiefs Sir Robert Walpole has so nearly completed in 1740, who, I really believe, did not at first design to put England into any danger from France. But to support his own power and wealth, he has, from one step to another, so far ruined this country, that it is not likely that it should escape from slavery, from one side or the other.

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Now I must explain what I mean, to reconcile, as far as I can, the different characters of Queen Anne. She certainly, as is said on the inscription, meant well, and was not a fool ; but nobody can maintain that she was wise, nor entertaining in conversation. She was in everything what I described her ; ignorant in everything but what the parsons had taught her when a child ; and she never failed in performing exactly the rules given her by them with great sincerity, for she was not in anything of that sort a hypocrite. But their directions were not the most material part of religion. She was naturally fond of the church and the clergy, and at the beginning of her kindness to me, she would have started at anybody's persuading her to profess a falsehood, or to have done anything plainly wrong. But when she came to be flattered by her new counsellors, who never told her but one thing at a time she was to do ; and no doubt, if she had any scruple in complying with them, they frightened her by making her think it was absolutely necessary to be done, to preserve her crown, and even her life ; for otherwise she would have the same usage from the Whigs that her grandfather King Charles the First had from such sort of people ; and her own natural inclination being to be fond of the Tories,—being very ignorant, very fearful, with very little judgment, it is easy to be seen she might mean well, being surrounded with so many artful people, who at last compassed their designs to her dishonour. For though she never said, that I

know of, a simple thing of herself, if she happened to like anybody, she had such a diffidence of herself, that she would always yield to the persuasion of those she liked, even though they had still less judgment than herself. She certainly was as decent in her behaviour as I have formerly represented her, till the latter end of her reign, when a very brutal woman got into her favour. She was not extravagant in any of her expenses, which is a very good thing for subjects, because whatever princes do, which is called generosity, the subjects feel it, because it is generally very foolishly applied.

Now I will give an account of the character of those Whigs I was acquainted with, whom the historian makes no mention of, nor of King William and Queen Mary, only where he could not avoid it; and he was very partial to the Whigs, being one himself.

I have given a true account of King William and Queen Mary in my letter to Mrs. Burnet, which makes it unnecessary to repeat it again. But I will say something of the behaviour of the Whigs, which, from my own knowledge, is the truth.

My Lord Somers could not have supported himself so long as the head of the Whigs, if he had not had good talents. But there was one thing that appeared to be a great blemish to a Lord Chancellor, that he lived as publicly with another man's wife as

if she had been his own. The first thing that raised his reputation to so great a height was being counsel to the seven bishops King James committed to the Tower. King William made him Lord Chancellor ; and I have heard, but do not know the truth of that myself, that he got as much money as he could in that post, and some grants not becoming a Chancellor to have.

When Queen Anne came to the crown, he was at the head of the Whigs, and all the favour was shewn to the Tories, whose principles I did not like ; and I really had no partiality to Whig or Tory, but thought the principles the Whigs professed, the best for England. And I solemnly protest, that when I thought nothing could possibly happen to lessen the Queen's favour to me, I would have lived upon my father's estate at Sandridge rather than have given my vote to have made her arbitrary. The Whigs were very uneasy at having no power when the Queen came to the crown, and at last the Tories, from their violence and folly, made it impossible for my Lords Marlborough and Godolphin to support the crown upon the Queen's head, and the laws of the country, without encouraging the Whigs to get their assistance against the Tories. My Lord Somers was the chief of the Whigs, but there was no possibility of introducing him till towards the latter end of Lords Marlborough and Godolphin's interest with the Queen ; and they were contented with changes, in bringing in some Whigs not so ob-

noxious to the Queen as Lord Somers, of whom I shall say more presently.

For my Lord Cowper, I continually laboured with the Queen to make him Keeper, to save the Duke of Marlborough and Lord Godolphin from an application so disagreeable to her ; and at last, by a great deal of drudgery, I succeeded. Upon which my Lord Halifax came to me from my Lord Cowper, to desire I would appoint a time for him to make his acknowledgments to me. I answered, " Upon condition that he would not say anything upon that subject, for I would not be thanked for anything I had done in contributing to bring so valuable a man into that post, which must prove a great advantage to the nation, by displacing Wright, who was so unfit for the post." Upon these articles Lord Cowper came to me, and told me, " He must perform what I had enjoined, and though I would not allow him to speak, I could not hinder him from thinking." And I must do him the justice to say, that all the time I was at Court, and after I was removed, no man could possibly behave better to me than he did, not only as a gentleman, but as a friend, and as if he had been my own brother. My Lord Somers had the reverse of that behaviour, for though he courted me a great while in order to get Whigs into employment, visiting me, and if I met him in the streets, or on the road by chance, he would stand up as if I had been the Queen, yet after I had teased the Queen to bring him into a great post, I


think it was Lord President, he never made me but one single visit, though I never had one dispute or quarrel with him, nor took any more notice of me after I was out of my employments than if he had never heard of me ; nor of the Duke of Marlborough, after he was put out of the army, of which the historian has given a very exact account. But he soon found, after he had been at Court, that Mrs. Masham would get the better, and therefore wisely thought it better to make his application to her and her friends. And as long as Lords Marlborough and Godolphin continued ministers, contrary to Sir Robert's method, for they never did anything considerable without consulting the chief of their friends, whatever was to be moved contrary to the Queen's temper, he always put that task on Lords Marlborough and Godolphin to propose it, which it is probable he might cover with his pretended modesty, that they were most proper of whose services she had so long an experience. But at last I discovered, by a man of undoubted truth and honour, that Lords Bolingbroke and Oxford, before the Queen had publicly made them her ministers, had diverted themselves much with a scheme to make the Queen flatter Lord Somers and seem fond of him, in order to make Lords Marlborough and Godolphin jealous.

That plot had not its effect so soon as it ought to have had, but Lord Somers was extremely pleased with the Queen's favour, and attended her very often

alone. Her Majesty acted her part very well, as she could anything given her by those she liked, and I really believe, from all his proceedings, that he thought if he could get rid of the Duke of Marlborough and Lord Godolphin, by the Queen's favour he should compass being Premier minister. I remember to have been at several of their consultations, to fill out their tea and wash their cups ; and he was the chief man in promoting the union with Scotland. One argument was, that it would shut up the door to let the Pretender in, and no man in all the debates was so pressing as himself to have Dr. Sacheverel tried ; and one of his arguments for that was, that if they did not do it, the Queen would be preached out of the throne, and the nation ruined. Notwithstanding this, when the Queen, by her new counsellors, had a mind to save Dr. Sacheverel, she prevailed with Lord Somers not to go to the finishing his trial ; and the reason he gave for not doing it was, " because his mother," he said, " was dead." And he was so exact that, though he could not bring her to life again, out of great decency he could not appear in public. I do not imagine that reason passed on anybody, but he was disappointed ; for when the play was finished, and Lord Rochester, Sir Edward Seymour, and such as they were put into the Council, to be sure they would not suffer Lord Somers to sit with them ; and if they would, it was impossible for him to stay when all his friends were put out, or had quitted. But I know, after the game

was up, a bedchamber woman that was very honest assured me that he came often privately to wait on the Queen at Kensington, after his party was destroyed, which convinced me that he had hopes, by some accident or other, to obtain the Queen's favour; and perhaps he might have some pension from her; but that I cannot be sure of, because if he had it, it is most probable it was paid by Mrs. Masham.

I will now give an account of what I knew of my Lord Halifax, who a long time was a great Whig. He was of a family, but as a younger brother, he had but 50*l.* a year, with which he could make no great figure. The first thing he was cried up for was something from whence he was called *Mouse Montagu*. I do not know any other way to describe it. But it was extremely liked, and I think it was written in King James's reign, or the latter end of King Charles's. I do not know by whose means, but he got into the Treasury, and Lord Godolphin raised his fortune. He read extremely agreeably, and having a good deal of that business to do, my Lord Godolphin was pleased with him. I believe he had some talents, particularly a great knack at making pretty ballads. But my Lords Marlborough and Godolphin used to say the same thing of him as they did of Mr. Walpole—"That they were both useful, but neither of them had any judgment." Lord Halifax had a vast deal of vanity and as much covetousness. For I have seen several letters of his, in which he was always soliciting to



get more money than he ought to have had. He loved dedications, and every thing of that sort. I remember one thing more, extremely wretched, or rather mean.

He sent me once a book written by one of his people, upon the subject that he knew I liked, and he told me the author was very honest but poor, upon which I gave him 100*l*. And I am very sure if he gave this writer anything, it was from himself, without letting him know it was from me. He was a very active Whig, till the times changed ; but when Lord Oxford got the better, though he continued to meet his friends, at all their consultations, he betrayed them. I remember Lord Cowper was very angry with him. They had taken a resolution to do something in Parliament that would have disconcerted Lord Oxford's designs very much. I do not remember it so particularly as to relate it, but it was of so much consequence to keep it secret, that all those great men made a solemn protestation not to mention this resolution to anybody. Notwithstanding which, my Lord Halifax told it to my Lord Oxford, which disappointed the designs his friends had taken. They were all shocked at it ; but when they reproached Lord Halifax with having done it, he said with a great deal of insolence, That he had done it for the best, and would have turned it off with a jest, that if they did not like it, they might fight their next battles themselves. There never was a falser man than Lord Halifax was.

I will now relate one remarkable instance of it.

Before my Lord Shrewsbury went to Rome, he had a great friendship with him ; but when he returned to England, he apprehended that he would come into some great employment from the great inclination and esteem the Duke of Marlborough and Lord Godolphin had for him, and therefore told them that the Duke of Shrewsbury was a very agreeable man ; but as they knew he had quitted King William's service out of fear that the government would not hold, and was certainly reconciled to the Pretender by his Roman Catholic relations, the Whigs could not bear that he should fill any great post, when they had borne all the heat and burthen in support of the Revolution. There was some reason and truth in this: but to shew what a thorough wretch he was, at the end of the Whig ministry, when the Duke of Shrewsbury came thoroughly into the Tories, and voted with them in every thing, my Lord Halifax renewed his friendship with the Duke of Shrewsbury, and served them in every thing he could, contrary to his professions, even at that time, to his party.

It was plain to everybody that he was made use of to do mischief in the city for the advantage and to forward the designs of the Tories. And it is certain, that in a cunning way, he did a great deal of mischief to his own party, when he saw it going, and as he had been a Lord of the Treasury, he had great interest in the city, and used to make great entertainments, but always for some good purpose,

and they were extremely well performed. This got him a great many friends, even among the ladies. But this was purely out of interest and vanity, for he was so great a manager, that when he dined alone, I know he eat upon pewter, for fear of lessening the value of his plate by cleaning it often. He was a frightful figure, and yet pretended to be a lover, and followed several beauties, who laughed at him for it.

Notwithstanding this character of him, which is all true, he was thought so necessary by the Whig party, that when King George the First came into England, and things were settled, they made him an Earl, gave him the blue ribbon, made him first commissioner of the Treasury, and allowed his nephew, Mr. Montague, to be auditor of the Exchequer, who was his heir, and that place is chiefly designed to be a check upon the Treasury. This was a good precedent for Sir Robert Walpole, who gave his son the same post. But, to give a farther instance of his love for money, my Lady Scarborough, who was a very worthy woman, told me in confidence, that though Mr. Montague, her son-in-law, had but a small estate, he allowed him to take out of that vast employment but 500*l.* a year ; and had the rest himself. To finish this character, I must repeat what is more extraordinary than any I have yet said. My Lord Halifax, and the rest of the great men, dined with me at Marlborough House, the same day they had done these great

things for him. He hardly spoke a word the whole dinner-time, looked full of rage, and as if he could have killed everybody at the table ; and the reason of that behaviour was, that they did not give him the white staff, instead of making him the first commissioner of the Treasury. I shall only add to this description of him, that he was as renowned for ill-breeding as Sir Robert Walpole is. Of all my Whig friends and professors, when I had interest with the Queen, except Lord Cowper, whom I have given a just character of, I cannot recollect any one who did not treat me in an infamous manner, and, except Sir Gilbert Heathcote, Sir Nathaniel Gould, and my Lord Orford, they railed at me everywhere, and said, that I had ruined them, and were as violent as the Tories had been, who had some reason, for I was against them. But I never deceived them, though I could not be of their opinion. The first I have mentioned, Sir Gilbert, was always the same to me as when I was a favourite, wrote to me when I was in exile ; and Sir Nathaniel Gould and he continued my friends till their death. And after the Duke of Marlborough was dead, which was very polite in men of business, they hired a coach, and came to visit me at Windsor Lodge, when I was in affliction. This was after the Hanover family were in England, when both Whigs and Tories railed at me. My Lord Orford was certainly a man of honour and truth, for though I had known him a great many years, we being both servants to

the Duke and Duchess of York, I had no intimacy with him afterwards. But, as he was a considerable man with the great men at that time, several of them brought him to me at Marlborough House, to persuade me to be friends with one that had behaved very ill in former times ; but, as they were politicians, they had a great mind to please this person in doing what he desired so much. But I could not be convinced by any of their arguments, that it was of any use for me at that time to comply with them. I said, it was of no consequence then, that I believed they judged right for themselves ; but as I had been very ill-used, I did not care to be friends, nor to have anything to do with such people. I observed that my Lord Orford hearkened to the arguments on both sides, but never said one word to persuade me, as the rest of the company had done. And it was plain to me, that he looked as if he thought that I was in the right ; and as though he would have done as I did, had it been his own case. He had so much honour, that he would not join with the company, though he came on purpose to do it. For I did not pretend to argue against their doing whatever they thought proper ; but, as I was an insignificant woman, I thought I might be allowed to follow my own inclination, which was always to be sincere. In another book are a great many particulars, which the historian may like to look into : but I have omitted there to relate something of Sir Robert Walpole,

which shews that he betrayed the Duke of Marlborough, even at that time when he made the greatest professions to him.

The Duke of Marlborough was made so uneasy at the latter end of the Queen's reign, by turning men of service out of the army to put in Mr. Hill and Mr. Masham over the heads of people improperly, that Mr. Walpole was employed to shew the Queen how detrimental to her service such steps must be. He had many opportunities of doing it. The Duke of Marlborough having obtained of the Queen, that Cardonnel should be Secretary of War, as a reward for his services, when the war was ended, which he hoped would be soon, and the Queen having allowed Mr. Cardonnel to kiss her hand upon that promise, but to let him go over with the Duke of Marlborough that campaign and another, if the war happened to be not concluded, Mr. Walpole was so low then, that he executed this place for Mr. Cardonnel, and attended the Duke of Marlborough when he was in England, with a bag of writings, like Mr. Cardonnel. He managed it so as to make the Duke of Marlborough believe that he had done all he could with the Queen, and at the same time gained the points Mrs. Masham had desired for her husband and brother ; and I had incontestible proofs afterwards that Mr. Walpole had acted this double part to oblige Mrs. Masham : and the Duke of Marlborough, at that time, had no reason to believe he could be so false. Sir Robert had also a

great obligation to me ; for, by my interest wholly, he was made Treasurer of the Navy when Sir T. Lyttelton died, though there were solicitations from many people for that employment, whom they thought it of more consequence to oblige. But I prevailed, and he had then only had a small estate, and that much encumbered. And I have letters of acknowledgments to me, in which he says, “ he is very sensible that he was entirely obliged to me for it.” Notwithstanding which, at the beginning of his great power with the present family, he used me with all the folly and insolence upon every occasion, as he has treated several, since he has acted as if he were King, which would be too tedious to relate.

I am not sure that some account of this has not been given before. But, if it has, the truth is always the same. And it is no great matter, since what I write is only information to the historian to give character. For being perpetually interrupted, it is impossible to remember what I may have formerly written upon these subjects.

OPINIONS
OF THE
DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH.

THE PRINCESS AMELIA.

1737. Some people have a notion that the Princess Amelia will be employed by the minister to do every thing with the King ; but I think she has not experience enough. And though, with great reason, his Majesty was influenced by the Queen, yet his Majesty, who has so great a capacity himself, can never be influenced much by a daughter of five-and-twenty.

1737. Princess Amelia is to perform the Queen's part in the drawing-room ; but, by all I have either seen or heard of her, I do not believe her behaviour will create many friends to the family.

QUEEN ANNE.

Queen Anne had a person and appearance very graceful, something of majesty in her look. She was religious without affectation ; and certainly meant to do everything that was just. She had no ambition ; which appeared by her being so easy in letting King William come before her to the crown, after

the King her father had followed such counsels as made the nation see they could not be safe in their religion and laws, without coming to the extremities they did. And she thought it more for her honour to be easy in it, than to make a dispute, *who* should have the crown first, that was taken from her father. And it was a great trouble to her to be forced to act such a part against him, even for security, which was truly the case ; and she thought those that shewed the least ambition had the best character. Her journey to Nottingham was purely accidental, never concerted, but occasioned by the great fright she was in when the King returned from Salisbury, upon which she said, she should jump out at the window rather than stay and see her father ; and, upon that sent to the Bishop of London, to consult with others what she should do ; who came with the Earl of Dorset, and carried her into the city, and from thence to Nottingham. She was never expensive, but saved money out of her 50,000*l.* a year, which, after she came to the crown, was paid to Prince George of Denmark, which was his by right. She made no foolish buildings, nor bought one jewel in the whole time of her reign.

She always paid the greatest respect imaginable to King William and Queen Mary, and never insisted upon any one thing of grandeur more than she had when her family was established by King Charles II. ; though after the Revolution she was

[heir-presumptive to the crown, and, after her sister died, was] in the place of a Prince of Wales. The civil list revenue was not increased on her having the crown ; and the late Earl of Godolphin, who was treasurer, often said, that from accidents in the customs, and not straining things to hardships, the revenue did not come to, one year with another, more than 500,000*l.* ; however, as it was found necessary to have a war, to secure England from the power of France, she contributed, for the ease of the people, 100,000*l.* out of her own revenue, to lessen the expense, in one year : and out of her civil list she paid a great many pensions given in former reigns, which have been since thrown upon the public ; and she gave the first fruits to be distributed among the poor clergy. She was extremely well-bred, and treated her chief ladies and servants as if they had been her equals ; and she never refused to give charity, when there was the least reason for any body to ask it ; and likewise paid the salaries of most of her sister's servants, notwithstanding the hardships she had suffered in King William's reign. And to shew how good a manager she was for the public, till a very few years before she died, she never had but 20,000*l.* a year for her privy purse, which was vastly less than any King or Queen ever had : but at the latter end of her reign it was increased to 26,000*l.* which was much to her honour, because *that* is subject to no account : and, in comparison with other reigns, she was as saving

in another office, that of the robes ; for it will appear by all the records, in the Exchequer, where the accounts were passed, that in nine years she spent only 32,050*l.* including the coronation expense.

I have put these facts together, for materials for the person who writes the inscription.* They are all true, notwithstanding what she was imposed upon in doing at the end of her reign. I never flattered anybody living ; and I cannot be suspected of it now the Queen is dead. But this character of the Queen is so much the reverse of Queen Caroline, that I think it will not be liked at Court. And though I make no observations upon it, nobody can read it without reflecting upon the difference of the proceedings in Queen Anne's reign and the present.

DUKE OF ARGYLE.

1738. It is said the Duke of Argyle is extremely angry. It is a common saying, that when a house is to fall the rats go away ; but I doubt there is nothing of that in this case, and I rather think the anger must be to have some new demand satisfied, which is a thing his Grace has often done. Sir Robert is very free in his speeches, and before a great deal of company lately that dined with him, somebody took up the subject of the Duke of Ar-

* On the statue of Queen Anne, in the gallery of Blenheim. Her Grace has furnished us with a key to that inscription.—*Lord Hailes.*

gyle's being angry. Sir Robert had a mind to let it drop, but they would go on with it ; and Sir Robert said, that the Duke of Argyle and the King, upon a war, would always be angry, because they both had a mind to command the army, which was impossible for either of them to do.

1738. After all the great noise there was of the Duke of Argyle's being irreconcilably angry with Sir Robert ; every thing has past since in the house without his saying the least word to shew it ; *that* was no surprise to me.

1738-9. I think it is quite sure that the Duke of Argyle is determined and has thrown away the scabbard, and he uses to have a very quick sight *when* it was time to leave a minister. I am satisfied that the Duke of Argyle will do as he says, and that will do more good than any three men that I could name to take that part.

1738-9. The Duke of Argyle spoke charmingly, (on the convention with Spain,) and has certainly thrown away the scabbard. And, as he is strongly in the right, and indefatigable, he will make a greater figure in this affair than any six men I could name together.

1738-9. I like the way the Duke of Argyle lately took, upon a very scurrilous paper being writ against him, by one that was known to be a court-writer for a pension ; and it was intimated to the Duke that the author should be punished. But he answered very prettily, that if they prosecuted him,

he would come and defend him ; for the author had done what was right in saying what he was paid for ; and they did him no hurt. All the hatred I once had to him, upon a very just account, is now turned to love. However, as he don't want money, I should be glad they would turn him out.

1740. The Duke of Argyle's last speech is, I think, very well drawn ; and I suppose the account of his behaviour for four years last past is as well as he could make it. But there must be a veil thrown over many things that he did. However, as he has no interest now but to act for the good of the public, and has spirit and parts, I don't doubt but he will exert himself as much as he can.

1740-1. The Duke of Argyle spoke as well as it was possible for a man to do.

1741-2. The Duke of Argyle is to have all the places he was formerly possessed of. He has certainly had a great deal of merit in what has passed of late ; and I heartily wish he may act as well now as he has done.

QUEEN CAROLINE.

1737. (Long minutes concerning her last illness and death). Her death ascribed to a mortification proceeding from a concealed or neglected *hernia*.

1737. The Queen, in her illness, desired leave to make a will, which she did ; gave no legacy to any one, but left all to his Majesty ; and it was so worded, as I am told, that it takes in all she had in

England, or in any banks in other countries. Her jewels are worth a great sum ; but all that belonged to Queen Anne, Queen Mary, &c. she could no more dispose of, than of St. James's or Hampton Court. There can be no doubt of her having a great sum of money, which is not likely should ever be known ; and Mr. Selwyn, one of her agents, has said since her death, that she was in debt 5,000*l*. If that were true, I cannot see what reason there was for her Majesty to do anything, but to recommend her debts and her servants to the King.

1737. Our Bishops are now about to employ hands to write the finest character that ever was heard of Queen Caroline ; who, as it is no treason, I freely own that I am glad she is dead. For to get money, that has proved of no manner of use to her, and to support Sir Robert in all his arbitrary injustice, she brought this nation upon the very brink of ruin, and has endangered the succession of her own family, by raising so high a dissatisfaction in the whole nation, as there is to them all, and by giving so much power to France, whenever they think fit to make use of it, who will have no mercy upon England.

1737. His Majesty thinks he has lost the greatest politician that ever was born, and one that did him the greatest service that was possible. Though everybody else that knows the truth must acknowledge that it was quite the contrary. For my own part, it is demonstration to me, that nothing could

have put this nation and family in danger but the measures of the Queen and Sir Robert. To my knowledge, most of the weeping ladies that went to the King have expressed the same opinion of the Queen formerly that I have described.

1737-8. Upon her great understanding and goodness there come out nauseous panegyrics every day, that make one sick, so full of nonsense and lies, that there is one very remarkable from a Dr. Clarke, in order to have the first bishoprick that falls, and I dare say he will have it, though there is something extremely ridiculous in the panegyric ; for, after he has given her the most perfect character that ever any woman had or can have, he allows, that “she had sacrificed her reputation to the great and the many, to shew her duty to the King, and her love to her country.” These are the clergyman’s words exactly, which allows she did wrong things, but it was to please the King ; which is condemning him. I suppose he must mean some good she did to her own country, for I know of none she did in England, unless raking from the public deserves a panegyric.

1737-8. It seems to me as if her ghost did every thing by their saying, whatever is to be done, was the Queen’s opinion should be so ; and everything is compassed by that means by Sir Robert, without any trouble at all ; but if —— should happen to have an opinion of any person that is living, perhaps they may get the better of the ghost.

DOGS.

1737. I am very fond of my three dogs, they have all of them gratitude, wit, and good sense ; things very rare to be found in this country. They are fond of going out with me ; but when I reason with them, and tell them it is not proper, they submit, and watch for my coming home, and meet me with as much joy as if I had never given them good advice.

MY ENTAIL.

1738. I have made a settlement of a very great estate that is in my own power, upon my grandson, John Spencer, and his sons ; but they are all to forfeit it if any of them shall ever accept any employment, military or civil, or any pension from any King or Queen of this realm, and the estate is to go to others in the entail. This I think ought to please everybody ; for it will secure my heirs in being very considerable men. None of them can put on a fool's coat, and take posts from soldiers of experience and service, who never did anything but kill pheasants and partridges. Their heirs may do great service to their country, and ought to be well received when they go to court, since they will have nothing to ask ; for I would have them join with any King or minister when they desire nothing but what is for the good of the nation and the King, who in truth must always have the same interest. But if we should happen ever

to have a Prince that would rump members for giving their vote for the true interest of their country, in that case, a man with a great fortune may be very well contented to live at home, and keep much better company than I have known for many years at Court. Here is another advantage in this to the ministers, for if they should happen to do anything that is good for the public, they will have the honour of it themselves ; and it cannot be imputed to the wisdom of the great men which they generally choose to put into great posts ; and yet I do fancy that they will not like anything of this sort ; but as the money they give to people comes from the public, they had rather give something to all their supporters than to have them independent, so as that nothing can tempt them to do anything but what is for the general good as well as their own ; for I really think there are but few attendants that are the better for employments, unless such as have no estates at all.

FOREBODINGS.

1737. Whenever France makes use of the power the ministers have given them, which I cannot but think they will do, perhaps very soon, I should be glad to give half my estate to secure the rest ; and it would be a very good bargain. But, alas ! *that* would not do ; for there is such a general dislike to the present government, both in England, Ireland, and Scotland, that I believe people would be under

great difficulties to determine which side to take. And, except my family, which must suffer more than any other if France prevails, others, that are less obnoxious, would not be able presently to determine which was the easiest servitude, France or Germany : and I doubt the business would soon be determined, not as I wish against France. I don't wonder at anything the King or Queen does, because they know nothing of the truth. But I think Sir Robert must be under strange infatuation, who has so great a stake himself, and yet uses everybody ill that have been, and ever must be, sure friends to support the present government ; and, if he escapes the rage of the first disturbance, he cannot hope to support, by weak men and corrupt beggars, the going on against reason and law, and ruining so great a nation as England was. But I believe he will proceed to gratify all his passions ; and perhaps he thinks that, as he is older than the King or Queen, he may die himself in power ; which I wish he may, for the sake of my family, rather than that France should succeed. Though I think 'tis possible many may choose that servitude before another ; but I cannot see how England can escape being slaves to somebody.

1737. I don't think anything good can happen, unless by some accident that I cannot see into.

1737. We are in a great deal of danger from France ; which is so plain, that I am amazed that everybody who has a stake is not of the same opi-

nion. But the love of a little present advantage blinds them and Sir Robert too ; for certainly his stake is as considerable as most people's ; though, from the love of power, it is plain he has ruined England. I suppose one of his reasons for coming to such great extremities is, that he cannot bear losing his power, and thinks it may hold longer than he can live, and that by his death, all his ill-gotten treasure will go in course to his family. But I think he will be mistaken in that, and that there is a storm arising that will destroy irrevocably the liberties of England, whichever side prevails. It is impossible for anybody with common sense to believe that France won't endeavour to put one upon this throne that will be governed by them, as soon as they think it safe to attempt it. The Cardinal, who has certainly been a good minister to his own country, will naturally think it for his glory to restore King James's family to what they call their right, to establish his own religion in England, and to have a Prince here that will in all probability do everything they desire, instead of being at the expense of keeping them abroad. These are natural thoughts in a Cardinal, who has hitherto acted very wise and honestly for his own country, without putting it to any very extraordinary expense for himself. And I really think the game is very near up, and that, when any attempt is made upon this nation, even those people who have contributed towards the ruin of it by their foolish compliance,

will generally sit still ; and after so many forfeitures and executions, will not care to appear on either side till they see which is the likeliest to succeed, since it will be very hard for them to know by which side they shall suffer least. When I talk in this way to some of my acquaintance, they answer, they hope it won't be as I imagine, and that, if France attempted us, it would unite everybody in England. Their hopes, without giving any reason for them, are nonsense, and so it is to imagine that everybody in such a case would unite.

1737. What I dread most is the power of France ; for they will have no mercy on us, and I fear have power to do what they please ; and the generality seem to have so much hatred and contempt for one family, that, from that, and Sir Robert's government, God knows how soon this country may yet be made more miserable than it is. It is amazing to me that even the greatest knave and wretch upon earth will not act so as to save their estates, and some of them their places ; since anybody of sense enough to feed themselves must see things are brought to such extremity, that if they don't act as if they were honest men, they can have neither estates nor places in a very little time.

1737. Till the scene opens, how can anybody be certain what the event will be between so many knaves and fools as are concerned ? There is but one thing certain, that the innocent and guilty will be all ruined in a short time by the power of France ;

and if one could imagine that England could support themselves when there is so much disaffection to one place, I should not be very fond of any slavery ; but France, I think, is the worst, because, if that was settled, nothing can prevent it

1737-8. When the King of France thinks it time to attack us with a certainty of succeeding, there may perhaps be some little opposition to that, but it won't be considerable or long. But all public funds will be stopped to everybody, on account of the struggle there will be to save our last stake. And the conclusion will be, whichever side gets the better, that a thorough sponge will be made, and England and Scotland will be entire slaves, and under the direction of the worst men that can be got to have the government of both countries. I should be glad, for the sake of a very few, who I believe are worthy, to find that I am in the wrong. I am extreme old, and there are so very few people that deserve a better fate than seems to threaten England, that I am really very little concerned what happens, since there are so very few that don't deserve to suffer for having betrayed their country, by contributing to its ruin, for places, or a little money, which they did not want.

1737-8. Cardinal Fleury is a great deal more than fourscore ; and it is a sad thing to have nothing but his life to secure England from violent attempts ; if we could be sure, as I think we can-

not, that a Cardinal would not be desirous to establish Popery in this country, under a dependency on France, when he finds it can be done without hazard, and I have a notion that it is not far off; for I believe great part of the army are such men as will not be so successful in battle as they have been in their votes in parliament.

1738. I think, whatever changes happen, there can be nothing now that is good, there being such a general corruption among all people, that if a new government were to be settled, I do verily believe that both the parties, instead of joining to support and save the ruin of their country, would give away what money is left in the kingdom, to get places themselves, as they did when the last civil list was settled. Nay, I really question, whether, if a King and a minister designed to do everything that was right, a Parliament could be got that would let them; for they would say, that they must be paid as they used to be, whatever consequence that produced; and, like people that live upon drams, they will have money as long as there is any left for them.

1738. Miserable condition of the country.—Some accidents may, perhaps, put some little stop to the ruin of it; but nobody can foresee when it will happen, or whether we shall be much the better for it: but I am sure there is not the least prospect of recovering the prejudices we are under, by giving so much power to France, unless we

could imagine they will have as bad ministers as we have, which I think is not possible.

1738-9. I compare our situation to a ship near sinking, which can't be saved, but by some extraordinary accident which may possibly happen, but much more likely not to happen ; and the generality of the world are so worthless, that I am pretty indifferent when the total ruin comes. As far as anything depends upon me, I am sure nothing can hinder me from acting as I have done ; and, as I can't live long, I am sure they can't do anything that will quite starve me, who never had one grain of vanity in my inclination. I think in all ages there have been as bad men, and some worse, than Sir Robert. 'Tis true he has impoverished and ruined this country for power and gain ; but he could have done no mischief, if men of great fortunes had not assisted him ; which will certainly end in the ruin of themselves and their posterity ; and I am sure I have not the honour to be acquainted, or to have the least intimacy, with many that are not fools ; and I know of no remedy against that : and this nation had certainly been safe and happy, would men of fortune have acted, without any consideration of honour, what was truly to their own interest. Others may hope, if they can, in what is to come, but I have none.

1739. Though others had hopes, I never had any : though I find several people who are so sanguine as to think still that England will be saved ;

I cannot for my life see which way, since Sir Robert has all the money and power, and there are such number of fools and knaves to support whatever he has done or shall do.

1739. Sir Robert could not help a war ; but he will manage it so that nothing shall be got by it, by ill conduct, after all the people's money is drained from them, which he will get and dispose of in corruption. I can't live long enough to want necessities, having bought land enough to produce beef and mutton at very dear rates, which make my produce very little in comparison of money at interest ; but still 'twill support one, unless an entire conquest come. But, notwithstanding this, my jointure and more than half of my property remains, and I can't help it, in the government funds and securities ; and I expect in some time to have them sponged off, by saying, there is no help for the necessity of the public, but by stopping payments, but that they will pay them when they can ;—all this I firmly believe will happen.

1740. Had a great deal of discourse last night with one who calls himself a *patriot* ; but I don't find that he or any of the rest of them can give anything like a reason for any hope ; and when I press them upon that subject, all I can get is, that some accident may bring things about to be better. An accident is a very uncertain remote comfort ; and what accident can do it ? For my part, I cannot yet see into it, nor what great good it would produce

if Sir Robert should die, who I hear very often is ready to burst with laughing. The public is more in debt than ever. There is a vast army already in England, which is to be further increased; and much greater taxes must be raised to pay that expense, as well as a great fleet; neither of which have done anything, or are intended for any service, except the soldiers to awe the people of England, if they ever should be provoked to oppose arbitrary power; in which case, I am apt to believe that people would reflect how many had been hanged, and lost their estates for doing it. And I think we cannot expect any assistance from the army, as we had in the Prince of Orange's time, because all the old and good officers are dead or removed; and I know nobody left that, for the sake of their pensions, would not be for Sir Robert, if he should have a mind to declare himself King, besides their great ignorance and want of skill to act, if their heart would incline them to do anything that were right. Nothing is so plain as that Sir Robert has been in a long agreement with Cardinal Fleury; and that at the time that all this farce has been acted, and such a vast expense created, Sir Robert has ordered it so as to let the French and the Spaniards put themselves into such a condition as to make it, I think, next to impossible for Admiral Vernon to be saved; and I expect to hear that he and our fleet is destroyed soon, and consequently that Jamaica will be taken from us. And I have very great reason to

believe that Sir Chaloner Ogle has orders, if the delays in sending him have not put it out of his power to do anything, that he is positively forbid to do anything against the French, though they have been suffered already to fortify Dunkirk, contrary to the articles. If these things should happen, which I can see no reason why they should not, England to be sure will be in a great consternation. But how will they help themselves? Sir Robert has both Houses of Parliament, and will easily convince his Majesty that all he has done is for his service. And when the nation comes into such distress that Sir Robert can raise no more money upon the people, there must be without doubt a great fund from the savings of King George I., Queen Caroline, and what may easily be proved the present government has had from Ireland, old remains of rent paid the crown, the civil list settlement, Hessian troops, and many other such good inventions, more than two millions a-year, out of which, to be sure, there is a great bank; and nothing done for all this, except throwing away all the Duke of Marlborough's successes, and giving us up to France. And when they can get no more money from taxes, 'tis probable the hidden treasure may be made use of to support Sir Robert's absolute power. For my own part, I don't expect anything can happen that is good, since most nations are brought into slavery by the power of ill ministers. Much the greatest part of what I have of

my own, and likewise of the trust estate, I expect should be soon lost with a sponge ; and the rest of it, which is in land, will be reduced yet further by taxes and excises, which is half gone already. But I can't live long. I must submit to all misfortunes that cannot be helped.

1740-1. The Tories will not be satisfied without a Tory to be Premier Minister, and I have not heard of any one that is capable of governing. The nation is so vastly in debt, and the expense increasing daily, to support it against the foreign enemies, that I should wonder very much if men that have fortunes on the other side would undertake it. But if there should be men hardy enough to do it, is there employments enough to satisfy the chiefs of both parties ; and can our poor island furnish money enough to make any stand, without great alterations in the expense that it has hitherto been at ? I believe the great men at present employed would look very sourly upon any one who should propose to lessen their great increase of salaries, who have sold their country for what they did not want, as many as should remain of them in a new turn ; as those that come in would think it hard if their great merit should not have the same as has already been given. But all this is a trifle in comparison of the vast revenue the King has, which is already increased by adding to his family, and will be much more from the numerous issue of the next heir and his debts ; and I am apt to think that his Majesty would not look very kindly even

upon Sir Robert, or anybody else that should propose to him the lessening any part of his revenue, towards contributing to ease the nation of the destruction that his ministers have brought upon it.

GEORGE II.

Feb. 6, 1736. Heard this day, from a pretty good hand, that his Majesty has been worse than they cared to own ; but upon remedies they applied, his fever lessened, and he was better. However, the physicians say, that if he does get over this illness, he cannot live a twelvemonth.

1737. The King was opposed in the Council about the mourning for Queen Caroline by everybody but my Lord Wilmington. Some years ago there was an order made that nobody should put coaches or servants into mourning for any of their relations or court mournings. The nobility obeyed it, though they had fathers and wives as dear to them as the Queen could be to the King ; and the King said, he never meant to have it go to his own family. And my Lord Pembroke was as warm in this matter as anybody. But a man who will sell his country for a place, to be sure will put on any mourning.*

1737. I know one, a considerable man, who has seen the King once since this misfortune, (the death of the Queen), and though it was one the King

* It is reported that Lord Pembroke, after the expiration of the long mourning for Queen Caroline, appeared at Court in a black suit and weepers, that the King asked him the cause, and that he answered, "It is for my father, to whom I owe six months' mourning."—*Lord Hailes*.

would have disguised himself to if he could possibly, he says he never in his life saw any one so dejected, and that he looked as if he had lost his crown.

This puts me in mind of a thing that happened many years ago, which shews that his Majesty will hear reason when any one dares to speak it. There was a person that was refused a thing by his Majesty and the minister, that he thought justice and his due; upon which he desired an audience, in which he represented what he thought proper. But his Majesty looked very angry, and upon this, the person, as he was going to speak, interrupted him, begged his pardon for it, and added, that he begged, before his Majesty gave him his answer, that he would consider he was a gentleman. This changed his Majesty's countenance, and he complied with what was desired.

1737. His Majesty saw the Queen's women-servants first, which was a very mournful sight, for they all cried extremely; and his Majesty was so affected that he began to speak, but went out of the room to recover himself; and yesterday he saw the foreign ministers and his horses, which I remember Dean Swift gives a great character of; and was sorry to leave them for the conversation of his countrymen in England, and I think he was much in the right; for his Majesty preferred them after the women of the Queen's family.

1737-8. The King is in so very ill a state of

health that he may not live long. And though he is certainly extremely dejected by the great loss he has made, (the death of the Queen,) I don't think that is all ; for a heart is a long time a-breaking ; and I have known very few instances of dying from the passion of love. But people of judgment say, that there is a vast change in his constitution, and that he is certainly very ill, and so much changed in his manner, that he does everything he is desired, and signs what is brought him, without inquiring into it.

1738. A lady that keeps very good company told me that his Majesty was now so much better that he entertained himself with playing with favourites, in a private way, as formerly. I did not hear what the game was ; but it was cards, and some queens were dealt to the King, which renewed his trouble so much, and put him into so great a disorder, that the Princess Amelia immediately ordered all the queens to be taken out of the pack.

GUSTAVUS VASA ; A TRAGEDY.

1738-9. Prologue has, I think, some lines good in it. The Duke of Grafton did not see the prologue, but refused to license the play, and said they must write plays upon such subjects as "The Orphan." I have read the play in manuscript, which is thought by judges to be a very good one. The story is not at all applicable to our present times, but of a King of Sweden, and has nothing in it but

characters of virtuous people, and speaking on the side of liberty, which is now a great offence.*

LORD HARRINGTON.

1737. Lord Harrington, an evidence against the Prince voluntarily, for he did not bring any message; and it is plain that he and Sir Robert came to see what they could draw out of the Prince, by their going immediately from him to my Lord Harrington's lodgings, to write down all he had said. However, as he is a man that has effected a great deal of civility between man and man, he, it is said, has vexed himself sick upon it; and for excuse he says, he did not know it was to be printed. But I don't see *that* a sufficient excuse; and if it was done without his knowledge and consent, he might have done something to have taken off the odium of being an evidence; but I believe not without losing his places, which is not to be expected from a man who has done so much dirty work as to rise so fast without any great parts.

LORD HERVEY.

1737. Lord Hervey is at this time always with the King in vast favour. He has certainly parts and wit, but is the most wretched, profligate man that ever was born, besides ridiculous; a painted

* The Duchess, though generally dogmatical enough, does not praise Mr. Brooke's tragedy; she only says that "it is thought by judges to be a very good one." The author, after having appeared in various characters, terminated his literary career with "The Fool of Quality," a romance fraught with unparalleled absurdities.—*Lord Hailes*.

face, and not a tooth in his head.* And it is not above six months ago that the King hated him so, that he would not suffer him to be one in his diversions at play. I think 'tis possible that Sir Robert Walpole may make some use of him at first, and perhaps the other may have vanity enough to imagine that he may work himself up to be a great man; but that is too mad, I think, to be ever effected, because all the world, except Sir Robert, abhors him; and, notwithstanding all the mischiefs Sir Robert has done the nation, and myself in particular, which generally people resent in the first place, I had much rather he should continue in power than my Lord Hervey. *✓*

* Lord Hervey, having felt some attacks of the epilepsy, entered upon and persisted in a very strict regimen, and thus stopped the progress and prevented the effects of that dreadful disease. His daily food was a small quantity of asses' milk and a flour biscuit; once a week he indulged himself with eating an apple; he used emetics daily. Mr. Pope and he were once friends; but they quarrelled, and persecuted each other with virulent satire. Pope, knowing the abstemious regimen which Lord Hervey observed, was so ungenerous as to call him "a mere cheese-curd of asses' milk." Lord Hervey used paint to soften his ghastly appearance. Mr. Pope must have known *this* also, and therefore it was unpardonable in him to introduce it into his celebrated portrait. That satirist had the art of laying hold on detached circumstances, and of applying them to his purpose, without much regard for historical accuracy. Thus, to his Hemistic, "Endow a college or a cat," he adds this note, that "a Duchess of Richmond left annuities to her cats." The Lady, as to whom he seems so uncertain, was *La Belle Stuart* of the Comte de Grammont. She left annuities to certain female friends, with the burden of maintaining some of her cats; a delicate way of providing for poor, and, probably, proud gentlewomen, without making them feel that they owed their livelihood to her mere liberality.—*Lord Hailes.*

REDUCTION OF INTEREST.

1737. The bill to reduce the interest yet lower on the mortgages to the government, thrown out. Though I am very sure that Sir Robert at first intended it should pass, and though he spoke two hours upon it, nobody could provoke him to give any reason against its passing, further than that the bill was not well drawn, &c. And I find everybody is of opinion, that it will pass next sessions ; and that one considerable reason why it is deferred, is because the Queen herself has at least a million of money in that fund : and I don't doubt but there is another who has a great deal more ; so that there must be time given for them and others to sell out. And the stock did immediately rise on the bill's dropping, two and a half per cent., and how much higher it will rise nobody can tell ; but this is certain, that the people who have but little will be starved ; for when they are frightened, which will be once or twice a year, they sell as soon as the stock begins to tumble, and then when the government pays them in scraps, they buy at a higher rate to get a little interest to live. And at the same time that they (the ministers) will take half the interest money from the creditors, both rich and poor, under a pretence of paying the debt of the nation, I believe that it increases every day. All the patriots who are vehement in this scheme of reducing the interest to three per cent., few of them

I believe have any money ; but what their reasons are for joining in a thing which was certainly first set on foot by the ministry, is a secret that I have not been let into ; nor can I of myself comprehend why they would be so eager to take away one-fourth of what money everybody has, when it is plain they have not strength enough to obtain any account of those many millions which have been given by the public, nor any account of what they were so unjustly pursuing. So far from that, Sir Robert has declared, in some of the debates, that no taxes shall be taken off ; and if he had not done so, it would have been just the same thing to me ; for I am sure they will raise taxes as long as there is any money left in the kingdom.

1737. Sir Robert has declared, that the taxes shall not be taken off ; and had he said otherwise, that would have been no security from one who can put them on when he pleases, as he did in the salt tax, and one year after brought it on again, and mortgaged it for eleven years to come. But when he has taken one-fourth of what the proprietors have left, they have no way of helping themselves. I cannot see how the general ruin which threatens the nation can be helped, by taking so great a sum from the proprietors, to put it in the power of Sir Robert, or any subject who may happen to be master. It is certain that the bill for the further reduction of interest will pass next sessions, and that it had passed this, if it had not been to give time

for several considerable people to get their money out of the stocks before the interest is reduced. This all the patriots knew, and yet they would have joined to have taken more money from the people, at the same time that they saw they had not strength enough to carry one vote in anything Sir Robert opposes. And therefore, though I naturally love patriots, I cannot find any good reason for what they have done ; and I do think that one-fourth of what is left was better and more just to have been left in the people's own hands as long as it could. From the beginning of the reduction of the interest I lent such sums to the government as reduced the interest from six per cent. to four per cent. ; thinking it would have had a good effect for the security of the nation ; and at that time he could not have compassed such sums without me.* But he has returned this with letting me know, that he will take no more of *the trust-money* upon the land-tax or malt, though it is but at three per cent. ; and even that favour, though it is not a great one, he will do for everybody but our family. The nation could not be made safe from giving more money into the power of ministers ; and when any disturbance or invasion happens, the subject must give money to defend the country, for the debts will always continue at least as great as they are.

1737. The public requires the interest being re-

* This displays the injustice of that famous satirical passage in Pope,

“ But not like Marlborough's, at five per cent.”

duced; and I should be as willing to give my vote for anything that concerned the good of the nation as any man living; but as long as Sir Robert is minister, the patriots cannot possibly apply any money for the good of the public, nor will he ever lessen any taxes.

IMPROVEMENT OF LAND.

1736. No improvement of land, which I ever aimed at, has ever turned to better account than if one had purchased so much more new land to the old.

1737. I have very little opinion of *improvements*; more than to believe something is to be saved by a man's looking after his stewards and bailiffs, to prevent, as much as they can, abuses.

PURCHASE OF LAND.

1737-8. Have made a great purchase, thinking one may have a little from land for some time, whatever happens, for even I may live to see an end to all one's support from public funds.

1738. From fear of a sponge I have sold my stocks low, and bought land dear, which I did because I thought *that* would hold longest. From my having over-purchased myself, I must very soon take up money and pay interest for it.

1739. In the city to bid for Lord Yarmouth's estate, which I believe I shall have, and I do think it necessary to do it, because land will be the last

thing that will be taken from us, and I expect, a little sooner or later, a sponge, which will put an end to all stocks and money lent to the government.

SIR JOSEPH JEKYLL, MASTER OF THE ROLLS.

1737-8. The Master of the Rolls was on the side of the minority yesterday, (3rd February,) who has certainly done a great deal of mischief, though he is called honest.* But I have hardly known him to succeed, but when he is on the wrong side; and yesterday he said something so weak, that it made his friends smile, to the following effect, gravely, "that our hopes now was in the Czarina," who, I think, is a good way from us, and likewise from doing France any hurt.

KINGS.

1737. Were I a man, I freely own that I would not venture anything that I could avoid for any King that I know, or that I have heard of.†

1737. As princes are not the best judges of right and wrong, from the flattery they are used to, not to say worse of them, I think the best thing for them, and the whole nation, is not to let them have power to hurt themselves, or anybody else. A gentleman of Sweden has given me an account of the laws of

* He left the bulk of *his* fortune to the *sinking fund*; that bequest would, to a certain extent, have saved the Duchess's fortune from the sponge.—*Lord Hailes*.

† It is to be supposed, that the Duchess meant *male Kings*; for surely she would have done something for a female King, herself being "Viceroy over her."—*Lord Hailes*.

that country, which they now enjoy, but they did not compass it till the King or Ministers had destroyed that country, and made them excessive poor. I heartily wish *that* may not be our case, or worse.

1737. I am of opinion, from woful experience, that, from flattery or want of understanding, most princes are alike ; and therefore it is to no purpose to argue against their passions, but to defend ourselves at all events against them. This makes me think of the Castile oath, “ We, that are as good as yourself, and more powerful, chose you to be our King, upon such conditions ;” and concludes with what is most just and proper.

LIBERTY.

1737-8. I am, and shall ever be, of the opinion, that nothing is so much worth struggling for as liberty ; and I have given demonstration, that in all times I have done everything in my poor power that could contribute towards that happy condition ; and I will continue to do so as long as I live. But, alas ! what can it signify, the endeavours of an old woman ?

LIFE AND DEATH.

1737. I am a perfect cripple, and cannot possibly hold out long : and as I have little enjoyment of my life, I am very indifferent about it.

1737. It is impossible that one of my age and infirmities can live long : and one great happiness

there is in death, that one shall never hear any more of anything they do in this world.

1737. " When I consider life, 'tis all a cheat,
 Yet, fooled with hope, men favour the deceit ;
 Trust on, and think to-morrow will repay ;
 To-morrow's falsèr than the former day,
 Lies more, and when it says we shall be blest
 With some new joy, cuts off what we possess.
 Strange cozenage ! none would live past years again,
 Yet all hope pleasure in what still remain,
 And from the dregs of life think to receive
 What the fresh sprightly running could not give.
 I'm tired with waiting for this chemic gold,
 Which fools us young, and beggars us when old."

Verses of Dryden, which I think very pretty, and which most people have felt the truth of.

1737-8. I think one can't leave the world in a better time than now, when there is no such thing as real friendship, truth, justice, honour, or indeed anything that is agreeable in life.

1738-9. I am so weary of life that I don't care how soon the stroke is given to me, which I only wish may be with as little pain as possible.

1739. As to my own particular, I have nothing to reproach myself with ; and I think it very improbable that I should live to suffer what others will do, who have contributed to the ruin of their country : and when I am dead I shall hear nothing of it, nor have the uneasiness, when I die, of parting with anything that gives me much pleasure. I have always thought that the greatest happiness of life was to love and value somebody extremely that re-

turned it ; and to see them often ; and if one has an easy fortune, that is what makes one's life pass away agreeably. But, alas ! there is such a change in the world since I knew it first, that, though one's natural pleasure is to love people, the generality of the world are in something or other so disagreeable, that 'tis impossible to do it ; and, added to this, I am a cripple, lifted about like a child, and very seldom free from pain.

1740-1. As I have seen so much of a very bad world, I must own I have no taste left, but to have what is just necessary to support myself and those that I am obliged to take care of, which are a great many.

DUKE OF MONTAGUE.

1740. All his talents lie in things only natural in boys of fifteen years old, and he is about two and fifty ; to get people into his garden and wet them with squirts, and to invite people to his country houses, and put things into their beds to make them itch, and twenty such pretty fancies like these.*

1741-2. He has a great estate, and is master of the grand wardrobe, part of my daughter's portion,

* He had other pretty fancies, not mentioned in the memoranda of his mother-in-law : he did good without ostentation. His vast benevolence of soul is not recorded by Pope ; but it will be remembered while there is any tradition of human kindness and charity in England.—*Lord Hailes*.

which I got him for life,* and which I was assured by a very understanding man, he would farm of him, and give him 8,000*l.* a year. He is not a man that has any demand on account of services done by sea or land.†

MOTION AGAINST SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

1740-1. Both parties find fault with each other : and for my own part, I believe them both to blame in many things ; but surely the Tories are the worst, and have always done the most mischief. I believe there is many knaves amongst them, but 'tis certain the majority of them are fools ; and the principles that they profess are both foolish and false. Many of the Whigs must be allowed to have sense, and to be much more capable of managing a government than Tories. But the majority of them are knaves, and they have shown, when they are in employment, that their chief aim is to keep their places, and raise themselves, without any regard to the good of the public. Those in the opposition did not imagine that they could carry the question in two such houses, without the promise from the Tories that they would join them, which they had ; and if they had performed, as they assured them they would, they would certainly have been as near

* What would the Duchess of Marlborough have said of Sir Robert Walpole, had he made a like boast ?—*Lord Hailes.*

† The Duchess forgets that he served, at an early age, under the Duke of Marlborough ; and that, during a peace of thirty years, he could not have made any more campaigns.—*Lord Hailes.*

carrying what they desired as in the excise-bill, which frightened Sir Robert so much that he durst not stand it. For 'tis certain, that, notwithstanding these promises, more than a hundred voted for the minister, and a great number went off with Mr. Shippen, who, some suspect, has taken money. Upon the whole matter, everything was extremely ill managed in the House of Commons; but in the House of Lords much better; and it is certain that my Lord Carteret did speak two hours as well as any man in the world could speak, but all in vain: and though I think the minority there was not lessened, the majority was but little increased. The town is now full of discourse upon these matters, and different opinions they have. Some of the Tories pretend to be ashamed of what they have done. Sir John Hinde Cotton, and Watkins Williams, and Lord Noel Somerset, voted, according to their promise, with the minority. I know none of them but Sir John Hinde Cotton, who, though they call him a Jacobite, I think he has too great an estate, and too much sense, really to be for a Popish government. But as he happened to be always of the Tory side, I suppose he thought he should make a better figure in being the head of a party than in leaving it.

CHAMBER ORGAN.

1737. I am now in pursuit of getting the finest piece of music that ever was heard; it is a thing

that will play eight tunes. Handel and all the great musicians say it is beyond anything they can do ; and this may be performed by the most ignorant person ; and when you are weary of those eight tunes, you may have them changed for any other that you like. This I think much better than going to an Italian opera, or an assembly. This performance has been lately put into a lottery, and all the Royal Family chose to have a great many tickets, rather than to buy it, the price being, I think, 1,000*l.*, infinitely a less sum than some bishopricks have been sold for. And a gentleman won it who I am in hopes will sell it, and if he will, I will buy it, for I cannot live to have another made, and I will carry it into the country with me.

PATRIOTS.

1737-8. I think great things might still be done with honest hearts and good heads ; but the demand is much too high, at least I can find very few that have either good heads or hearts. Some there are I believe of both sorts ; but much the greatest number are those that are called *men of understanding*, and are so blinded with some low present view for themselves, or fear, that they will not be of any good use.

1738. I think that all the people in places, and those of the patriots that have a mind to have them, will keep and get all the employments they

can to the last moment, without any regard to what may happen to England.

1738. I believe that, besides the great majority by Sir Robert's corruption, there is a majority likewise in the minority, who have so long pretended to be concerned for the safety of their country, who really mean nothing but to make some bargain for themselves.

1739. I think everything should be done that can be legally done to save this sinking nation; and I really believe 'tis intended by the generality of the minority; but I do not believe they all mean the same thing, which is a great disadvantage.

1739. I don't find that anybody thinks 'tis possible for any good to be done this sessions. Everybody that should act don't mean the same thing. Some are influenced wholly by bribes; others have views which they cover; and, upon the whole, I think that Sir Robert will die in power: and after that, what the next minister will do I can't tell; but I believe 'twill be like the horse full of flies, which the rider would not have brushed off, because an empty swarm would come to suck him.

1739-40. A great man in the opposition has brought his own relation into a place where he could have chose my footman, and one who has employments, and never did nor ever will give a vote against the Court. I think it is shameful to talk

against placemen, and to choose one one's ownself at the same time. He should rather have made his relation quit the Court, and have paid him with his own money for it. And it appears to me very ill-judged to cry out upon pensions, and at the same time bring one (a pensioner) into Parliament. Brutus put his own sons to death, which was terrible, because they were in a plot with others to destroy the government: but it would have been worse to have saved his sons for the same crime that their companions were executed for.

1740. As there are but few on the other side (the opposition) that have either true honesty, sense, or resolution, I think we have very little to hope.

1740. Some of those people who call themselves *patriots*, are certainly very good men; but I am very sure the whole party don't mean the same thing. They don't all go in a straight line to pursue steadily the right points; but they act coolly, sometimes one way and sometimes another, as they think it will turn most to what they secretly have in view, some to keep places they are in possession of, and others to get into them.

POLITICAL PAPERS.

1738. A paper writ on the minister's side,—I never read one of them before, knowing they are either nonsense or false. I think this artfully writ, and I am confident 'tis done by Dr. Hare. Such

papers, I think, impose on very ignorant people, a great many of which are in the country.*

EARL OF PEMBROKE.

1737-8. I don't look upon a blue ribbon to be any honour as they are generally disposed of, and yet I fancy my Lord Pembroke will be angry that — are preferred before him. But let him be ever so much offended at it, he won't act one right thing that can hazard his losing a guinea.†

PLAN FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A MINISTRY.

1737. There is nothing more plain to me, than that there is an opportunity to put a stop to any more mischief, and in time England might flourish again. But this, I think, depends on resolution, good sense, and honesty, of which, I fear, there is very little. I am nothing but an ignorant old woman, but I have seen a great deal of courts; and I do really think, that, without

* This is a fair acknowledgment, and it will be seen in its true light, when we invert the character of the writer, and suppose this to be said by a friend of the administration of Sir Robert Walpole, and not by an enemy. "A paper writ on the side of Opposition. I never read one of them before, knowing they are either nonsense or false."—*Lord Hailes*.

† Lord Pembroke had an infirmity which disabled him from sitting on horseback. When Britain took a part in the war of the Austrian succession, he resigned his regiment. "As I am not able to serve," said he, "I will not stand in the way of those who can." He, who would on no account have hazarded the loss of a guinea, quitted, from a punctilio of honour, a lucrative office in which he might have continued without censure!—*Lord Hailes*.

having any of the old Roman virtue, it is wiser for any great man not to be a premier minister, which, if we should ever happen to have a weak or an ill King, must lead a terrible life, besides being very insecure; and consequently, it would be best for a King as well as the nation, and everybody that has any property, or love to their posterity, to have all things done in council without a premier minister, which I have often heard is the law.* In that case many great officers would be answerable for what they did. They might live easily, do their country service, and their King. And as vacancies happened, others, as far as the nation would furnish, might take their places in succession. This has always been a notion of mine, for which I have been often laughed at. However, if I were a man, I would try what resolution, reason, and honesty would do, whatever it cost me; supposing that a man has no love to his country, nor care of his posterity, if we go on as we have done with premier ministers, if he has any property, must it not all be lost in a few years, and everybody reduced to slavery?

* Yet the Duchess knew, that under her *own* administration "all things were not done in council." The system which, as she had often heard, was the law, is a specious but vain theory. How could her "great officers be answerable for what they did?" If no one of them had influence over the others, each man could only be answerable for his own vote; and if any one had influence over the others, then there would be a *Premier* without personal responsibility.—*Lord Hailes*.

LORD POLWARTH AND HIS BROTHER.

1738. I have heard some say they are too warm ; but I own I love those that are so,* and never saw much good in those that are not.

ROMAN CATHOLICS.

1737-8. I am acquainted with some Jacobites, and I have some relations that are Roman Catholics. Though they are simple people, their party love them for their zeal ; and they do tell one another what they know, and I find they are all in extreme hopes at this time ; and one of them said lately to me, very simply, that there was come over a bill lately from Ireland, that was an additional cruelty to the Roman Catholics ; that their friends used the same endeavours to Sir Robert to have it stopped, notwithstanding which, the council here passed it immediately. I asked them *who* were the people that used to obtain favour of Sir Robert in such things ? They said, the French, Spanish, and Emperor's ambassadors had often prevailed with Sir Robert on such occasions ; and, though he would not desist on an ambassador's speaking, they still hope, when Cardinal Fleury and others from France could write, it might still be stopped in Ireland. This looks as if Sir Robert was more cautious than he has been formerly in taking advice from our enemies. Though I think his wisdom is a little too late, after joining those three great powers in an interest against England.

* She means those who are *said* to be too warm.—*Lord Hailes*.

CARDINAL DE RETZ.

1739. His history is entertaining, because he has wit and sense ; notwithstanding which, I must confess I don't like him much. For, if I were a man, I would not rebel, to have the greatest employment any Prince could give me. But if any tyrant broke the laws, and obliged me to draw the sword, I would never trim nor sheath it till justice was done to my country. I find in this history, that the Parliament and people without doors cried out violently, " No peace, no Mazarine : " and yet, in the conclusion, Mazarine got the better, and enslaved France. And by the description de Retz makes us of the nobles, their taking bribes, being very simple, and wholly bent on private interest, they resemble very much our House of Lords.

EARL OF SCARBOROUGH.

1738-9. Lord Scarborough voted with the minority, and spoke on the convention with Spain, though he has something so very particular, that I can't be sure he will go on, for he is always splitting a hair ; but there is now, I think, no hair to split.

SECESSION FROM THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

1738-9. Minority's resolution of not going to Parliament, where the corruption hinders them from doing any good, unless on private bills. Majority seem dissatisfied ; but there is no judgment to be made of what will follow from it, since the same men will always do as Sir Robert finds proper to

direct them. And perhaps he may pass everything that he pleases, and keep all the money raised from the public for himself and his brother.

1739. I find some people don't like the minority's absenting themselves from the House. A great number continue to do it. I am not acquainted with them ; but there are three that I think have sense, and are men of good character, which are, my Lord Cornbury, Mr. Plumer, and Sir John Barnard, who continue still to go. Whether the resolution will do good or no, I am not able to judge ; but I think there is nothing more plain than that their going to the House can do no good against so much folly and corruption ; and therefore I imagine that their leaving the Parliament is to shew the world that they do not join with it. And perhaps they may think that Sir Robert won't dare pass some acts with but little more than half the number : I wish it may be so. But I think he will use the nation as ill as the Spaniards did the seamen, rather than not compass everything he has a mind to.

CHARLES EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

1738. The Earl of Sunderland, it was thought, would be a fool at two-and-twenty ; but afterwards, from the favour of a weak prince, he was cried up for having parts, though 'tis certain he had not much in him.*

* The Duchess forgot that he held a distinguished office, together with the Marquis of Wharton, in " the most honest and best intentioned ministry that ever she knew." See article *Swift*. And that,

SWIFT.

1736. Dean Swift gives the most exact account of kings, ministers, bishops, and the courts of justice, that is possible to be writ. He has certainly a vast deal of wit; and since he could contribute so much to the pulling down the most honest and best intentioned ministry that ever I knew, with the help only of Abigail and one or two more; and has certainly stopped the finishing stroke to ruin the Irish in the project of the halfpence, in spite of all the ministry could do; I could not [cannot] help wishing, that we had had his assistance in the opposition; for I could easily forgive him all the slaps he has given me and the Duke of Marlborough, and have thanked him heartily, whenever he would please to do good. I never saw him in my life; and though his writings have entertained me very much, yet I see he writes sometimes for interest; for in his books he gives my Lord Oxford as great a character as if he was speaking of Socrates or Marcus Antonius. But when I am dead, the reverse of that character will come out, with vouchers to it, under his own hand.

1736. The style of the Lords' address puts me in mind of Dean Swift's account, who I am prodigiously fond of, which he gives of the manner in which he was introduced to the King of Luggnagg.

1736. I most heartily wish that in this park I had some of the breed of those charming creatures

if the Earl of Sunderland had the favour of so weak a prince as George I., he had also the favour of Queen Anne.—*Lord Hailes.*

Swift speaks of, and calls the *Houyhnhnms*, which I understand to be horses, so extremely polite, and which had all manner of good conversation, good principles, and that never told a lie, and charmed him so, that he could not endure his own country when he returned. He says there is a sort of creature there called *Yahoos*, and of the same species with us, only a good deal uglier; but they are kept tied up; and by that glorious creature the horses are not permitted to do any mischief. I really have not been pleased so much a long time as with what he writes.*

* I met lately with the following passage in an anonymous writer, which may serve as a contrast to the review of Swift drawn by the Duchess Dowager of Marlborough. "The religious author of 'The Tale of a Tub' will tell you, religion is but a reservoir of fools and madmen; and the virtuous Lemuel Gulliver will answer for the state, that it is a den of savages and cut-throats. Let it be as they say, that ridicule and satire are the supplement of public laws; should not then the ends of both be the same, the benefit of mankind? But where is the sense of a general satire, if the whole species be degenerated? and where is the justice of it, if it be not? The punishment of lunatics is as wise as the one, and a general execution as honest as the other. In short, a general satire is the work only of ill men, or little geniuses. The immortal Socrates employed his wit to better purpose; his vein was rich, but frugal; he thought the laugh came too dear when bought at the expense of probity; and therefore laid it all out in the improvement and reform of manners. But, not to be partial to antiquity, it must be owned, that even then, for one Socrates to reform, it had a Democritus to sneer, a Diogenes to snarl, nay, even an Heraclitus to weep at human obliquity. So much easier has it always been to invent a false philosophy on the credit of a prevailing passion, than to use even the first principles of reason to curb and restrain it. And here 'tis well worth observing, that he, of all those whom the world treated most severely, was the *Reformer*; as he who most grossly abused his reason, even to the arguing against geometrical demonstrations, was the *Scoffer*. Again, at

TOWN AND COUNTRY.

1736. One of my chief pleasures is, that after such an hour in this place (Windsor Lodge) I am sure I can see nobody. At Marlborough House it is very different; for there are many visitors, though few that have any sense, or that are capable of any friendship or truth. I would desire no more pleasure than to walk about my gardens and parks; but, alas! that is not permitted; for I am generally wrapped up in flannel, and wheeled up and down my rooms in a chair. I cannot be very solicitous for life upon such terms, when I can only live to have more fits of the gout.

1736. I never design to see Blenheim again: in a lodge I have everything convenient, and without trouble.

1737. Came yesterday from Wimbleton. Though it stands high, it is upon clay, an ill sod, very damp,

the revival of letters, a second Socrates arose in Erasmus, a Democritus in Rabelais, and a Diogenes in Peter Aretin. And again, the well-directed raillery of the Great Reformer drew down against its author more enemies than did all the filth, scurrility, and impieties of the buffoon and cynic."—*A Critical and Philosophical Inquiry into the Causes of Prodiges and Miracles, as related by Historians*, p. 32-34. Printed at London, 1727, 12mo.

It is a pity that the Duchess did not become acquainted at a more early season of life with the misanthropy of the Dean, for then a perfect reconciliation might have taken place between them, on principles common to both. That which surprises me most in the Dean's work, is his forgetting himself so much, in his haste, as to leave religion out of the idea of a perfect republic. Since he gave reason to his horses, he might, consistently enough, have given them a little natural religion.—*Lord Hailes*.

and I believe an unhealthy place, which I shall very seldom live in ;* and consequently I have thrown away a vast sum of money upon it to little purpose.

PRINCE OF WALES.

1736. A great bustle in the Houses of Parliament concerning the revenue which the public pays to the King to support the Prince of Wales. The Court carried it by a majority of thirty, not without the expense of a great deal of money, and a most shameful proceeding to threaten and fetch six men out of their beds to vote, for fear of losing their bread. But, notwithstanding this, the minority for the Prince was two hundred and four ; and a great many other members who would have been in it if they had been in town. A great many charming truths were said on that side ; no justice or common sense was expressed on the other. The speakers on the majority were Sir Robert, Horace, Sir W. Yonge, Pelham, and somebody of the Admiralty that I never heard of before. I am confident that, though the Prince lost the question, the ministers were mightily frightened, and not without reason, for it is a heavy weight two hundred and four, who were certainly on the right side of the question. And I am apt to think, that men who have been so base with estates, and so mean as to act against the interests of their

* This has been written in a fit of good spirits. On the verge of fourscore she determined to live very seldom at Wimbledon. When she was a year younger she preferred a convenient lodge to a palace.
—*Lord Hailes.*

country, will grow very weary of voting to starve the next heir to the crown, since the generality of the majority has a view only to their own interest. And it is apprehended that the King is in so very bad a state of health, that, though he has got over his illness so far as sometimes to appear in public, yet we shall not be so happy as to have him live long; and everybody that sees him tells me that he looks at this time extremely ill. The Prince in all this affair has shewn a great deal of spirit and sense; and the intolerable treatment which he has had for so many years will no doubt continue him to be very firm, and to act right. House of Lords:—proxies and all but forty for the Prince, and a majority of near three to one on the other side.—Nobody surprised at that. I really think that they might pass an act there, if they pleased, to take away Magna Charta. 'Tis said, they don't intend to turn out anybody in the King's service who voted in this question for the Prince in either House. If they don't, I think *that* shews some fear. I am never very sanguine, and for a long time could not imagine which way the liberties of England could be saved. But I really do think now there is a little glimmering of daylight.

1737. The Prince has gone to make a visit to my Lord Cobham, where my Lord Chesterfield is, and some others that I think very good men. I believe keeping that company won't be agreeable to her Majesty.

1737. I much apprehend that all his good intentions will come too late to save us from destruction : for virtue without power is as useless as power without virtue is hurtful to us ; but still we must hope on, and be contented with what we can't help.

1737. There has been an extraordinary quarrel at Court.* The 31st of last month (July 1737) the Princess fell in labour. The King and Queen both knew that she was to lie in at St. James's, where everything was prepared. It was her first child, and so little a way to London that she thought it less hazard to go immediately away from Hampton Court to London, where she had all the assistance that could be, and everything prepared, than to stay at Hampton Court, where she had nothing, and might be forced to make use of a country midwife. There was not a minute's time to be lost in debating this matter, nor in ceremonials ; the Princess begging earnestly of the Prince to carry her to St. James's in such a hurry that gentlemen went behind the coach like footmen. They got to St. James's safe ; and she was brought to bed in one hour after. Her Majesty followed them as soon as she could, but did not come till it was all over. However, she expressed a great deal of anger to the Prince for having carried her away, though she and the child were very well. I should have thought it had been most natural for a grandmother to have

* What follows is probably a minute, drawn up from what the Duchess heard in the Prince's family.—*Lord Hailes*.

said, she had been mightily frightened, but she was glad it was so well over. The Prince said all the respectful and dutiful things imaginable to her and the King, desiring her Majesty to support the reasons that made him go away as he did, without acquainting his Majesty with it. And I believe all human creatures will allow, that this was natural for a man not to debate a thing of this kind, nor to lose a minute's time in ceremony; which was very useless, considering that it is a great while since the King has spoke to him, or taken the least notice of him. The Prince told her Majesty he intended to go that morning to pay his duty to the King; but she advised him not. This was Monday morning; and she said Wednesday was time enough. And indeed I think in that her Majesty was in the right. The Prince submitted to her counsel, and only writ a very submissive and respectful letter to his Majesty, giving his reasons for what he had done; and this conversation ended, that he hoped his Majesty would do him the honour to be godfather to his daughter, and that he would be pleased to name who the godmothers should be; and that he left all the directions of the christening entirely to his Majesty's pleasure. The Queen answered, that it would be thought the asking the King to be godfather was too great a liberty, and advised him not to do it. When the Prince led the Queen to her coach, which she would not have had him have done, there was a great concourse of peo-

ple; and notwithstanding all that had passed before, she expressed so much kindness, that she hugged and kissed him with great passion. The King after this sent a message in writing by my Lord Essex, in the following words: "That his Majesty looked upon what the Prince had done, in carrying the Princess to London in such a manner, as a deliberate indignity offered to himself and to the Queen, and resented it in the highest degree, and forbid him the Court." All the sycophants and agents of the Court spread millions of falsities upon this occasion, and all the language there was that this was so great a crime that even those that went with the Prince ought to be prosecuted. How this will end nobody yet knows, at least I am sure I don't. I have not heard yet of any christening being directed; but for that I am in no manner of pain; for if it be never christened, I think 'tis in a better state than a great many devout people that I know. What I apprehend most is, that the crown will be lost long before this little Princess can possibly enjoy it.

1737. They have printed all the letters and messages that have passed between the King, Queen, Prince, and Princess. This shews that the minister thinks he has been in the right; but I don't find any reasonable body of that opinion. And I observe that they have left out in this printed paper a message from his Majesty to the Prince, which was brought in writing by my Lord Dunmore; in which

they judged very well, for it was certainly a very odd one, as I think it is, my Lord Harrington's and Sir Robert Walpole's evidence concerning the Prince, some part of which is certainly untrue. But upon the whole matter, nobody can think that the Prince designed to hurt the Princess or the child, which was of much more consequence to him than it can be to her Majesty, who has so many children of her own. If the Prince had not had good success in what he ventured to do, and if it had been a real crime, the submissions the Prince has made, one would think, ought to have been accepted, for the omission of a ceremony that was not natural for the Prince to think of at that time ; and especially as he was treated at Court. But I suppose that Sir Robert did not think it a proper thing to say, that the true cause of the quarrel was the Prince's seeming to have a desire to have the whole of the allowance which the public pays for his support ; and indeed I do think it would not have been becoming to have given that reason for what has been done. But if I may presume to give my opinion against Sir Robert's, I should rather, in his place, have chose to have sent the message to the Prince, that he must leave St. James's, because the King was dissatisfied with his behaviour in general ; and not have given such strange reasons for the quarrel, and then publish a printed account with so many reflections upon the Prince, which no man that has any notion of honour can ever forgive.*

* I cannot discover what was the real cause of this unhappy quar-

1737. The courtiers talk much of a reconciliation. If there is any design to compass that, surely it was as ill-judged as everything else, to publish such a character of the King's son all over England.

1737-8. There is a great deal of very good company goes to Norfolk house ; but if I were to advise, I would have more play, to make more people easy by sitting down, as it used to be in all the courts that ever I knew, either by a basset-table, or at other games, letting people of quality go halves. But they begin, to my thinking, with the same forms as the late Queen did, only to have room to entertain two* of the town ladies, and I think it don't lessen one's greatness, but the contrary, to make everybody one can easy.

rel. The Duchess seems to think that it originated in the motion for the augmenting of the Prince's revenue. It is probable that the whole matter will be explained to posterity, should the memoirs of Lord Hervey ever see the light. I have reason to believe that they are written with great freedom. And here I must be permitted to observe, that they who suppress such memorials of modern times, do all that in them lies to leave the history of the eighteenth century in darkness. In the sixteenth century it was the fashion to preserve original papers, in the eighteenth it is the fashion to destroy them. Hence we know more of the reign of Queen Elizabeth than we do of the reign of George I. For example, who were engaged in the original project of the Rebellion in the year 1715? What was the cause of that unnatural schism of the Whig administration in the reign of George I.? Who were the projectors of the Swedish invasion in 1718? And were the letters of Count Gillenburgh decyphered by the science of Dr. Willis, and without the aid of the cypher itself? Is there any history of the South Sea scheme authenticated by original papers? Were we to proceed to our own times, fifty queries of the like nature might be put, and as matters now stand, not one of them would receive a probable solution.—*Lord Hailes.*

* Probably "a few."—*Lord Hailes.*

1738. They have found a way in the city to borrow 30,000*l.* for the Prince at 10 per cent. interest, to pay his crying debts to tradespeople. But I doubt that sum won't go very far. But they have got it, tho' great pains was taken to hinder it. The salaries in the Prince's family are 25,000*l.* a-year, besides a good deal of expense at Cliefden in building and furniture. And the Prince and Princess's allowance for their clothes is 6,000*l.* a-year each. I wish his Royal Highness so well, that I am sorry there is such an increase of expense more than in former times, where there was more money a great deal. And I really think it would have been more for the Prince's interest, if his counsellors had thought it proper to have advised him to live only like a great man, and to give the reasons for it; and in doing so, he would have made a better figure, and have been safer: for nobody that does not get by it themselves, can possibly think the contrary method a right one.

1738-9. The Prince of Wales has done, I think, a very right thing, for he has declared to every body, that though he did design to bring the business of his revenue into the House, he is now resolved not to do it, it being but a trifle, and what could not succeed after losing a question of so much consequence for the preservation of the nation.* But I think all this prudence will be of no use to prevent France's settling this country as that King

* Respecting the Convention with Spain.

pleases, after we are still made poorer, by what Sir Robert has done, and will do further.

1739. I hear some people find fault with the Prince's having voted in the House of Lords with the minority; but I can see no reason for that. For surely he was as much at liberty to do it, as any other Peer; and I can't comprehend why he should not give his vote in anything that so manifestly was for the good of England.

PRINCESS OF WALES.

1737-8. The Princess speaks English much better than any of the family that have been here so long, appears good-natured, and civil to everybody; never saying anything to offend, as the late Queen did perpetually, notwithstanding her great understanding and goodness.*

* Among the MSS. I find a writing with this title; *A Character of her Highness the Princess * * **, attempted by Richard Hollings, M.D. It runs thus:—

“I am sensible how difficult it really is to be impartial, and how much more difficult it is, to seem so, in drawing the characters of persons of the highest birth and rank. The praise or the blame which they may justly deserve, is severally ascribed to the interested views or the private resentment of the author. I should therefore not have attempted the character of this most excellent Princess, could there have been the least room for suspicions of that nature. But having no obligation or disobligation whatsoever to her, I shall speak the truth in the sincerity of my heart. And I likewise call upon all and every one of those who have the honour to know her as well as I do, to contradict me, if they can, in any one particular. I have observed her with attention from almost the hour of her birth, and have carefully marked the progressive steps of nature. I have seen her in her most unguarded moments, and have seriously and critically considered whatever fell from her; so that I may without vanity assert, that nobody is better qualified to

SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

1735-6. The chief must have great talents, or he could not have compassed what he has. But I do really believe, that there never was any instance in

tell the truth than myself, though others might be much more capable of adorning it.

"I shall say nothing of the beauty of this incomparable Princess: it is her mind, and not her person, which we intend to delineate.

"Neither shall I dwell upon her high birth and station any longer than to observe, that she seems to be the only person ignorant of that superiority. She has never been heard to give the most remote hint of it; much less has she ever been observed to assume even that degree of state which others, much inferior to her in birth, are so foolishly fond of.

"It would be saying but little in praise of this excellent lady to observe, that she had early acquired many friends; for *who* in that high station has not? where the power of obliging and doing good is so extensive, it must be the weakest head, as well as the worst heart, that does not exert it, and make many happy friends. But, what is much more rare in her station, she has not one enemy.

"Equally humane to all who approach her, she neither stoops to meannesses, nor insolently insults, in proportion as she imagines the persons may be useful or useless; for, having nothing to ask, fear, or conceal from any, she behaves herself with unconcern to all.

"She was never known to tell a lie, or even to disguise a truth: uncorrupted nature appears in every motion, and honestly declares the present sentiment. Her smiles are the immediate result of a contented and innocent heart. They are never prostituted to disguise inward rancour and malice, nor insidiously displayed to betray the unwary into a fatal confidence.

"The tears she sometimes sheds are not less sincere; they flow only from justifiable causes, and not from disappointed avarice, ambition, or revenge. Nor are they the forced tears of simulated compassion, but real kindness of heart. Moreover, she never cries for joy.

"She is a rare instance of liberality and economy: for, though her income be but small, she retains no more of it than what is absolutely necessary for her subsistence, and properly and privately disposes of the rest; free from the ostentation of little or sordid minds,

any government of so much brutality, ill principles, and folly. But which way any of these things can be changed, I cannot yet see into.

1736. Sir Robert in the House of Commons, in the debate where it was taken notice of the shameful things that they had done in turning out officers of great merit, said, that a minister must be a very pitiful fellow, if he did not turn out officers who pretended to meddle with the civil government ;

who, by profusion in trifles, hope to conceal the insatiable avarice and corruption of their hearts.

" Though born and bred in a court, she never engages in the intrigues and whispers of it, nor concerns herself in public matters. Far from retailing or inventing lies, promoting scandal and defamation, and encouraging breach of faith and violation of friendship, one would think by her behaviour, that she had never even heard of such things.

" Her silence, considering her sex, is not the least admirable of her many qualifications. She never speaks when she has nothing to say, nor graciously tires her company with frivolous, improper, and unnecessary tattle.

" She is entirely free from another weakness of her sex, attention to dress. And it is observable, that if she is ever out of humour, it is in those moments in which she is obliged to conform to custom in that particular.

" Having thus finished this imperfect sketch of this inimitable character, I shall only add for the information of the curious, that this most incomparable Princess was given us on the 31st of July in 1737. Name, indeed, she has none. But had ever such a Princess a name ? or can any man name me such a Princess ?"

" This paper," says the Duchess of Marlborough, " made me laugh, for I think there is a good deal of humour in it, and two very exact characters."

It is curious to see the various shapes which party resentment can assume. We have already met with a satire on Queen Caroline, in the form of an inscription to the honour of Queen Anne. And here a more virulent satire appears under a quibbling character of the infant daughter of the Prince of Wales.—*Lord Hailes.*

and that he would leave that advice as a legacy to those ministers that might succeed him. If I had been a parliament man, I should have been so saucy as to have asked why the soldiers were in parliament. For, according to Sir Robert's notion, they were only to be a standing army to plunder and ruin us as occasion offered, and to vote away our property when they sat in the house.

1737. As long as Sir Robert is minister, the patriots cannot possibly apply any money for the good of the public, nor will he ever lessen any taxes: And as long as the Queen lives Sir Robert will be minister. I think, whatever happens, England can never be what it has been, unless France could have such ministers as Sir Robert and his brother, which is not possible.

1737. My own opinion may, possibly, be very wrong, for it is only from what I think I see, putting things together, for nobody tells me anything that I can depend upon the truth of. But I am confident there is nothing in the world that Sir Robert Walpole desires so much, as to secure himself by a treaty of quitting with safety: and in that, to be sure, he is extremely in the right. And I do believe, there are some so desirous to have the power, that they will give him a golden bridge to go over; and that there will be a scheme to settle a ministry, from which I cannot believe England will receive any good. I believe there will be no scheme offered for reducing interest or abolishing the liberty

of the press, till all things are settled for releasing Sir Robert. Though, I dare say, several that may be in the ministry, may like, as well as he, to hinder complaints and representations of that sort; and will consequently bring it about in a proper time. But at present, the Prince will be told, that by this new scheme he will have a better revenue in a little time, compassed by the mixture of the old ministry and those in the opposition joining. And that it will be a great triumph to him, to force Sir Robert to quit, which he would give a great sum of money to obtain. And in this manner, I think, the scheme is to be carried on without restoring us to any one article made at the Revolution, or abating, in reality, one shilling of the grievous taxes. But more would be added, if there was a possibility of raising it. Not a shilling of the public debt will be paid; for the rich corn is already gone, and the mixed ministry will only have some gleanings left.

1738. Whoever thinks of being a minister, likes fools better than men of sense, who they can't govern and make do wrong things for their private interest. Sir Robert is a great instance of this, who has been assisted by such sort of creatures: for I think he has hardly anybody in his great majority but such, and those who, though they are not strictly to be called idiots, have so much passion for money, that they won't lose a guinea to save their own estate, and the liberties of their country.

1738-9. Sir Robert told Mr. Sandys lately, that

perhaps they might get the better of him, but he was sure no other minister would ever be able to stand so long as he had done, twenty years; to which Mr. Sandys replied, he hoped he never should. But, for my part, I wish we might have a minister that had power to the age of Cardinal Fleuri, if they deserved from their country as well as he does from France.

1739. [Long minutes concerning an illness which Sir Robert Walpole had.] I think 'tis thought a fault to wish anybody dead, but I hope 'tis none to wish he may be hanged, having brought to ruin so great a country as this might have been.

1740-1. Some people refine so much as to think Sir Robert will be glad to make himself sure of his great fortune, and quit, if he can have terms that can secure him. And I have no doubt but that there are some of the minority side that would be glad to come into his place, though ever so dangerous a situation. It is not in my opinion an unreasonable inclination in Sir Robert to have a mind to secure himself with such a vast wealth,* after the mischiefs he has done. But the difficulties are so great in that scheme, that I confess I cannot see how it can be brought about, as Sir Robert appears at this time to be settled, and is in reality

* The vast wealth of Sir Robert Walpole was, I remember, the cry of the day; and it seemed as if he had purchased most of the county of Norfolk, and possessed one-half at least of the stock of the Bank of England. He himself said, in his familiar way, "People call me rich, but my brother will *cut up* better."—*Lord Hailes.*

King, and will be so long as he lives, which I believe he does not expect should be longer than the King, who is, I believe, in very good health; and as long as there is any money in the nation, I think he will not part with his power, nor trust to a new ministry; though I don't expect those that may come in to govern will ever punish an offender for example's sake. But if this wonderful thing should be brought about, Sir Robert will still be behind the curtain,* with an immense estate, and make it very uneasy to any minister.

1741-2. How well they have begun in the House of Commons.—I find that those who can judge very well, think that Sir Robert cannot fail of being punished;† and I wish it may go as far as he deserves, not out of any malice or revenge, but because I really think the constitution cannot be recovered, without some example being made. No government can be so bad as it has been. X ~~WPA~~ 217

* This, as is generally the case, proved a mere bugbear.—Cold friends, rather than zealous adversaries, wrought the fall of Sir Robert Walpole. Having resigned, he took no longer any concern in majorities and minorities.—*Lord Hailes.*

† The opinion of those good judges was ill-founded: among us a minister is changed with no more ceremony than a guard; and the old minister, like the old guard, is suffered to go about his business. At the siege of Tournay, in 1747, the French said to the Dutch, who were defending an out-work, “Retirez vous, messieurs, nous ne voulons qu’aux murailles.” Which may be thus rendered for the benefit of the mere English reader; “Get you gone, gentlemen, it is only the town that we want.” Sometimes, indeed, it may be necessary to amuse bystanders with a talk of impeachments, and pains and penalties.—*Lord Hailes.*

WINDSOR ELECTION.*

March 19, 1737-8. Disputed election at Windsor will be heard at the bar of the House on Thursday next; in which the Duke of Marlborough assisted a country gentleman with a very good estate. They tell me, it is the strongest election that ever came into that House. The opposer is my Lord Vere, Nell Gwyn's grandson, and of the family of the idiots, who I dare say will carry it; because they will always vote as they are ordered by the minister, let him be ever so bad. Nothing illegal or wrong has been done on the Duke of Marlborough's side; for people out of power can neither turn any one in nor out. But on t'other side all manner of infamous practices were used. Notwithstanding which, the mayor was forced to return both candidates, the votes being equal. His Majesty was pleased to say publicly in the drawing-room, when the account was given him of it, "But we have the returning officer." The members in constant pay will be assisted by some of the patriots, so it will only be a trouble to no purpose. One of the patriots, who is Mr. Grenville, my Lord Cobham's heir and nephew, has declared already, that he is extremely

* This account of the Windsor election exceeds in acrimony every thing in the Duchess's meditations. The St. Alban's family had the same sort of royal interest at Windsor that the Marlborough family had, and of a more ancient standing; and surely Lord Vere, personally considered, was no despicable candidate. The Duchess writes with so much violence on the subject, that I have been obliged to curtail her long stories.—*Lord Hailes*.

sorry he can't be on the right side, to which he wishes success : but he has married a relation of Lord Vere's wife. A poor soldier, whose arm was shot off under the Duke of Marlborough, and who had a pension from Chelsea College, was ordered to give his vote for Lord Vere, having a house at Windsor, and a right to do it, and told if he did not, his pension should be taken away. To which he answered, " I will venture starving rather than it shall be said, that I voted against the Duke of Marlborough's grandson, after having followed his grandfather so many hundred leagues." And accordingly he voted against Lord Vere. I don't know whether they have taken away his pension, but I hope they will, for I have sent him word, if they do take it away, I will settle the same upon him for his life.

March 27, 1738. The Windsor election ended last night. And after it was demonstrated, that the side the Duke of Marlborough was of had a clear majority all ways they could possibly turn it, without pretending to argue on Lord Vere's side, because they had nothing in the world to say, they put the question, and carried it, "That Lord Vere was legally chose by 240 to 160." There was nobody that shined so much in the debate as my Lord Polwarth, his brother, and Mr. Plumer. The two first I have heard some say are *too warm* ; but I own I love those that are so, and never saw much good in those that are not. But if we had a

thousand speakers, it had been the same thing. For the facts were so strongly proved on our side, as to be enough for anything but corruption, had nothing been said at all. One that is a very good observer, gave me an account, that he had time to examine the faces of the voters on Sir Robert's side, and he said, some of them looked angry, others grieved, and others laughed. Nothing so detestable as the behaviour of some of the patriots. My Lord Cobham's heir, Mr. Grenville, said, he wished Mr. Oldfield might succeed, for it was right, but he had married Lady Vere's sister, and therefore must be for Lord Vere. It is impossible for anybody to believe, that my Lord Cobham could not have hindered his heir from giving a vote so shameful to his nephew and self, as he professes being such a patriot. Mr. Berkley had another reason for being on that side, for he is Lady Betty Germaine's* relation, and hopes to get some of her riches when she dies. My Lord Scarborough persuaded his brother, Sir William (Thomas) Sanderson, to vote contrary to his promise and his reason, for it was said, that his brother had desired him to do it because he lived so much with Lady Betty Germaine. My Lord Townshend writ out of the country, to command his son to be for Lord Vere, right or wrong, and he obeyed his father's commands, contrary to his promise and his known inclination. Two of the three admirals voted for Lord Vere,

* The Duchess always calls her *Jermyn*.

though they owned they had been wronged, by bringing him over their head. The third admiral, Steward, staid away. A gentleman who has the most profitable place in the Prince's family, voted for them or stayed away, I don't know which. And the reason for that I think was the best of any, that the St. Alban's family had voted in a cause of his, as bad as this of Lord Vere's ; which I allow was a great obligation, but such a one as he never could have had from me. Another of the patriots, I don't remember his name, voted for Lord Vere, because he had been his school-fellow. And Mr. Compton, my Lord Wilmington's nephew, voted against the Marlborough interest, who had not been in the House, if the Duke of Marlborough and John Spencer had not chose him in Northamptonshire, which I hope they'll remember, if this country subsists so long as to have another election. My Lord Wilmington has been a great manager in this affair, and governed the Mayor of Windsor in all his proceedings. And the Duke of Dorset commanded one of his sons to break his word, which he did with a great deal of trouble. The Master of the Rolls sent me word he would be sure to attend the cause, if it was heard at the bar of the House, supposing then it would not be heard there ; but when he found it was, he pretended to be sick. This strange woman (Lady Betty Germaine) has had a great influence over many, even upon Mr. Sandys, who would have been an useful man in the House of

Commons, but could not be prevailed on to take any part in this affair. But it was too infamous for him to vote in such a cause for Lord Vere, and he sat silent all but his vote. And his —— wife, and he too, are often at court. His Majesty declared publicly at his levee, before the election was decided, that Lord Vere should have the seat in Parliament, for Windsor was his borough.

WOMEN.

1737-8. Women signify nothing unless they are the mistress (es) of a prince or a first minister, which I would not be if I were young; and I think there are very few, if any women, that have understanding or impartiality enough to serve well those they really wish to serve. 275

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CORRESPONDENCE
OF THE
DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

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MR. BRYDGES* TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

Dec. 4, 1705. O. S.

WE have, this day, had a long and tedious debate in a committee of the whole House, upon the papers that her Majesty ordered to be laid before the House, containing an account of the proceedings of the Parliament of Scotland since last session of ours. Sir Thomas Hanmer opened the debate, and Mr. Bromley, Mr. Freeman, and all those gentlemen (excepting Sir John Packington, Mr. Macky, who spoke against it, and one or two others) came into it, proposing as the remedy for the dangers which they apprehended from Scotland, the invitation of the presumptive head of the crown by way of an address to the Queen. This was strongly opposed in plain terms by Mr. Boyle, Mr. Walpole, the Solicitor, Mr. St. John, and other gentlemen, who were either for putting a negative on the ques-

* James Brydges, afterwards Duke of Chandos.

tion, or for Sir Godfrey Copley's (who was appointed the Chairman) leaving the chair, whereby the question would have fallen without being put at all, and without any prospect of being resumed another time. But this was not approved by other gentlemen, viz., Sir Richard Onslow, Sir Joseph Jekyll, Mr. Smith, and some others, who alledged, that since it was acknowledged on all hands, that there were dangers to be feared from Scotland, that the succession wanted some further strengthening by reason of some deficiencies in the Act of Settlement, it would not be advisable to leave the chair, much less to put a negative upon the question, till that bill which was this day sent down from the Lords (viz., to establish a Regency in case of the Queen's demise, till the next heir arrived) had been under the consideration of the House, that in case that bill should not be approved of, they might have another day to consider whether this would be an adequate remedy for our disease or not; and therefore, they were, before they left the subject, for an instruction to the chairman to ask leave to sit again. But upon Mr. Secretary Harley's acquainting them, that though he should leave the chair, they were not however concluded, but might, whenever they would, go into this committee, they were satisfied; and the committee rose without coming to any resolution at all. The reason of this proceeding, my Lord, we look upon to have been, that gentlemen might see, that in case

the Regency should not pass, it would not be impossible for them to go into the other motions; thinking by that means, to make that bill go down the easier in the House of Commons.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

Hague, April 19, 1706.

Since my being here we have had no letters from England, and by what I have seen from France they make so slight of what is doing in Portugal, that I shall know nothing of that matter, but what you send me.

We hear to day that the Duke of Vendome has beaten a part of Prince Eugene's army, killed three thousand, and taken eight hundred prisoners. I hope it is not so bad; however, it makes us very uneasy, as does the behaviour of the King of Prussia. I send Mr. Secretary Harley a letter I have received from him, and my answer to it. I beg you will see them, and then you will judge if they ought to be read or not at the Cabinet Council.

I have obeyed your commands to Mr. Hill, and have had a great deal of discourse with him concerning 28 (Italy), of which he has a very ill opinion.* However, I can see nothing else to be done.

I am to have a meeting next Sunday with some

* The favourite project of the Duke of Marlborough, at the beginning of this year, was, to join with Prince Eugene, and to remove at once the seat of the war into Italy.

burgomasters of Amsterdam, for those I have consulted here dare not agree to what I propose, unless I can persuade them to approve of it. I hope by the next post to let you know what I shall be able to do ; for by that time I expect 136 (Cadogan), for if 322 (the Elector of Hanover) does persist in not letting his troops march, it will be impossible to have the numbers, though these people should consent ; for they are very positive that they dare not consent to the letting their countrymen go. In short, they are very much afraid of 313, 321 (King of Prussia), and their own people. By all that I can hear, there is but too much reason to fear, that 221's intentions are that his troops shall not be of much use to us this year. The letters from Portugal say nothing of their fleet, but that they hope to be masters of Barcelona by the end of this month.

CHARLES IRWAS* TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

Rome, Aug. 21, 1706.

My Lord Duke,

I did myself the honour to write to your Grace the last post, which I hope came to your hands. However, I repeat the same thing, that Don Livio Odescalchi resolves to sell his collection, and sent his agent to my friends in England, that here are about a hundred pieces of the best authors, most

* The painter.

of them in the best condition of any of the several kinds. I believe there may be a thousand in all, but I reckon about a hundred fit for your Grace. I am sure the French King never had such an opportunity, though he bought for about two or three hundred thousand louis-d'ors about thirty years ago. The statues, and marble pillars, and tables, I omitted on purpose last week, though perhaps the medals too might have been mentioned properly enough, making together a glorious collection.

But the pictures are what I suppose most easy to be bought and exported. I have not so much as asked the price till I hear whether your Grace has a mind to them or no. The Duke of Shrewsbury was discoursed with on this subject, and I believe could give some light on the matter. And if I remember right, my Lord Treasurer and my Lord Pembroke told me of a project in King William's time to make this purchase. If your Grace does me the honour to send an answer immediately, it will reach me in Italy, enclosed to Mr. Newton, our envoy at Florence, or Mr. Broughton, consul at Venice.

I am, &c.

EARL OF MAR TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

Edinburgh, Sept. 28, 1706.

May it please your Grace,

I am very loth to give you any trouble, and particularly in relation to anything of the Scots' troops

under your command abroad ; but my concern for some of my friends who have the honour to serve under your Grace makes me presume to solicit you in their favour.

The vacancies by Lord John Hay's death, and the Duke of Argyle's getting an English regiment, will I hope give your Grace an opportunity to advance my Lord Dalrymple, and of providing my Lord Tullibardine. I doubt not but your Grace knows Preston to be a very pretty fellow, and a good officer, of long service, therefore I would be sorry if he were prejudged ; but though my Lord Dalrymple were preferred, yet I hope your Grace would order it so, that Preston would be provided too. But I trouble you no more about it ; and I hope your Grace will pardon my meddling with this, which I confess is out of my road ; but my concern for those three gentlemen made me presume on your Grace's goodness, for which I beg pardon.

I cannot yet make such a judgment of the fate of the union here as your Grace can perfectly rely on ; for few of the Parliament-men are yet come to town. But since the Queen's servants came to Scotland, people's humours against it are mightily altered : and the more there is known of the terms, the better the union is liked. The Presbyterian ministers who were most alarmed for fear of Presbytery, are now coming about, when they see it will be served ; and I hope they will be very cor-

dial. We have gained several Parliament-men who were formerly against it, and I know of none of our friends whom we have lost ; therefore I have good hopes of success.

The great and glorious success which your Grace has every day abroad, and the other successes which the Queen's troops and her allies have had this campaign, will make our work the easier here. I hope the Queen ere long will restore peace and liberty to Europe, and unite her subjects at home ; all things are now in so prosperous a way, which everybody must be sensible is not a little owing to your Grace. I beg leave to submit myself, &c. &c.

I saw my Lord Commissioner after his letters were sealed, and he desired me to let your Grace know, because he had forgot, that he believed you would receive a letter to him from my Lord Lothian,* with his pretensions to the royal regiments of Scots Dragoons, which he leaves to your Grace's consideration ; but we are so straitened here, that there is no room for anybody, but who are amongst us, to have his regiment here, and he is also an old major-general.

QUEEN ANNE TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

St. James's, Dec. 28th, 1706.

I have now yours of the 27th and 30th to thank you for ; and must add my hearty congratulations

* William Ker, second Marquis of Lothian, and afterwards one of the representative peers.

for your glorious conclusion of this campaign, in which the hand of God is very visible.

May He still be pleased to continue His goodness to us ; and grant the next may end with a safe and honourable peace. I am very sorry to find you are like to be kept so long abroad, after all your fatigues are over ; and wish with all my heart the service would permit you to return, for we want you mightily at home, and none more than your unhappy faithful servant.

(A Copy in the hand of the Duchess)

Endorsed by the Duchess.—The reason that this is only a copy is because the Duke of Marlborough gave me leave to open the Queen's letters to him before I sent them, and I often took copies because he seldom kept any letter.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

Bruxelles, May 19th, 1707.

Since my last we have had no letters from England, nor anything more from Spain ; but from Dunkirk we have the ill news of two of our men-of-war being brought into that place with several merchantmen. By letters of the 30th of the last month from Turin, I find Lord Peterborough was gone from thence, and that he had told the Duke of Savoy he would call upon me in his way to England. His chiefest business was to persuade his Royal Highness to send troops to Catalonia, so that they might be able to make a diversion in Roussillon. I do not send you the news we have from Monsieur,

the postmaster telling me that he sends it to Lord Sunderland. I beg you will make my excuses to the Queen and Prince, that I did not sooner send the inclosed letters. I am also to make the King of Sweden's excuse that his letter to the Queen is not in his own hand; the reason given me was, that the King could not write French; but the truth is, that his hand is so bad that her Majesty could not have read it.

I shall be with the army at Hull on Saturday, and shall leave Mr. Stepney here for some time, unless you think his presence necessary at the Hague; for the affairs in this country are in such disorder, that I fear the consequences.

EARL OF CARDIGAN* TO THE DUKE OF
MARLBOROUGH.

May 19, 1707.

My Lord,

I should think myself the most ungrateful man in the world if I should not acknowledge the great obligations I have to your Grace in making me the happiest man in the world, by being married last Thursday to my Lady Betty Bruce. I owe it entirely to your Grace's goodness in interesting yourself in that which has contributed so much to my satisfaction. I beg your Grace will accept of

* George Brudenell, third Earl of Cardigan, and Master of the buck-hounds to Queen Anne. He married the Lady Elizabeth Bruce, eldest daughter of Thomas, Earl of Ailesbury.

the enclosed favour ; and be assured, that no man in the world wishes your Grace more success against your enemies, and the continuance of your glory, than your Grace's most obedient humble servant,

CARDIGAN.

My wife presents her service to your Grace.

LORD GODOLPHIN TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

May 22, 1707.

I omitted in my last to take notice to you that, if you should defer speaking to the States to assist in making up a body of ten thousand men, either for a descent, or for the succour of Spain or Portugal, as shall be found most proper, till you have any express from King Charles, I doubt it will be too late to get them in readiness by the time we propose for ours, and the season of the year may be too far spent to make use of them, as really it was last year, when my Lord Rivers was so long detained by contrary winds.

I am glad to find the States have shewn a readiness to hinder the negotiation of the billets de monnoye from Amsterdam to Flanders, without which the French could not pay their army there. But I am told the lucre of that traffic will make them find ways to evade the placard published by the States, and that nothing will hinder it effectually but a stop of the posts for three months ; but I have little hopes this would go down with them.

The Duke of Newcastle is now come to desire Colonel Sutton may be his deputy governor at Hull, which being nearer his Grace, he says Sutton likes better, and that Mr. Whichcote might have Tynmouth. I told him I would acquaint you with what he desired, but that I believed you would think those sort of employments were most proper for such as had served in the army.

From the hint in your last letter, that you thought it likely King Charles might have a mind to come to Italy, there is a very particular instruction sent to Sir Cloudesley Shovel, of which Mr. Secretary said he would give you an account.

At the first Council called since the Union, the Queen added to her Council, the Duke of Queensbury, Duke of Montrose, Earl of Mar, Earl of Loudon, Earl of Seafield; and at the same time left out, Duke of Bucks, Earl of Nottingham, Earl of Thanet, Earl of Rochester, Earl of Abingdon, Earl of Jersey, Lord Weymouth, Lord Ferrers, Lord Guernsey, Lord Grenville, Lord Gower, Sir Edward Seymour, Sir George Rook.

Some were of an opinion the Council must have been new sworn, but that was declined, and this was all that has been done about the matter. The Duke of Queensbury is very pressing to be of the Cabinet Council.

LORD GODOLPHIN TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

June 24, 1707.

* * * * *

I am glad to find, by the Duke of Wertemberg's letter, that the forcing of the lines of Holhoffen is not like to have any worse consequences, since the Court of Vienna would not in six months time send a General to the Rhine. One cannot help being the less concerned for any uneasiness of this kind to them, provided it does not leave the French at liberty to send any detachment from thence to Flanders, of which, however, I think we cannot be secure till we hear of the Duke of Savoy's march, which will soon oblige the French to turn their thoughts that way. In the meanwhile their superiority continues in Flanders. You may be sure I shall not press you for a detachment from your army, either for Spain, or for a descent.

I shall take care of your commands for Dr. Chetwood, and add no more to this letter but an excuse for its being already unreasonably long.

(Addition in the hand of the Duchess of Marlborough.)

Lord Treasurer has desired me to add to this letter, (which he forgot,) that he hopes you will do what you can to recover our prisoners lost in Spain, by the exchange of those that are now, by your favour, at their ease in France.

I remember, in Mr. Montgomery's last letter, he wrote something to you of the great desire 220 had to be in 85, which I cannot but wish may not

be so, for I think nobody should go there that is not in all respects what one would desire, unless there is a necessity of it ; and I have known several things of him I do not like. Besides that, he is so near relation to 31, and I believe he has been sufficiently gratified already for any service he has ever done. God send good news from you, my dearest life.

Monsieur Vryburgh writ to me to-day ; he goes to Holland, in three or four days, for six weeks.

MR. CRAGGS TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

London, July 22, 1707.

My Lord,

We are three mails in arrear from Flanders, which makes all our politics here in a perfect stagnation, for till the affair of Toulon is decided, our wise men are very cautious in speaking their minds. The accidents of this year have given a great many people the opportunity of expressing their zeal to the administration ; and I think the best and only friend is success, for no obligation can tie an ungrateful man. May God Almighty prosper your generous designs for the good of mankind, and grant you health and temper to bear the malice of ungenerous enemies, and ingratitude of false friends.

The only news that I can pretend to tell you is, that Mr. Boucher and Mr. Pauncefort have thrown the Right Hon. Lord Wharton out of the high stewardship of Malmesbury, after his Honour had

treated and threatened the town for ten days together, and at last gave them a farewell benediction, that as they had been an ungrateful perfidious corporation to him, so he would endeavour to extirpate them as such, and would never more be seen within their villainous town. They have chosen Mr. Younge, of about three hundred pounds a year, and one whom his lordship had particularly oppressed to the utmost of his power.

THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY TO THE DUKE OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Heathorp, July 26, 1707.

My Lord,

I return you many thanks for the honour of your letter, and the good news your Grace gives of the Duke of Savoy's being entered into Provence, with a design of taking Toulon. If that port could be destroyed, with the men-of-war that are usually laid up in it, it would be a great advantage to England. I have two new plans by me, which I procured the last time his Royal Highness entered into France, in hopes that then something of this nature might have been done ; for the place itself towards land was then, and I believe is still, of no great strength. I hope dispositions are more favourable now than they were then to the effecting of this great design, and that the vigour shewn now will make everybody forget how little was done then, and the cause of it.

I perceive your Grace is not satisfied, because you have no prospect of such vast success as you have had some other campaigns ; but such victories as Blenheim and Ramilies are not annual plants.

I lately made a visit to my Lady Westmoreland* at Whitton, and did not go to Windsor, because I know the appearance of people at Court who have formerly been in posts does always create discourse, as if one were aiming at something of the same nature. As I have no such design, I judged it best to give no new jealousy to any in places, or in expectation of them, which is no inconsiderable part of the nation. I understand some have since represented it as if I were dissatisfied, and had a mind to shew it by that absence. I am sure my behaviour, in everything that relates to her Majesty's interests, shall, in my small sphere, shew me very far from any such thought, and if going to Windsor on foot were necessary to shew my respect and duty to so great and good a Queen, I should do it most willingly.

Having not seen Blenheim since I waited on the Duchess of Marlborough there, about a month ago, I can give your Grace no fresh news, as from thence I came from Northamptonshire, but have heard it goes on very fast. Mine is above ground, and what

* Dorothy Brudenell, Countess of Westmoreland, widow of Charles Fane, Earl of Westmoreland, who died in 1691. She afterwards married Robert Constable, Viscount Dunbar, and died in 1739. She was aunt to the Duke of Shrewsbury, and the youngest daughter of Robert Brudenell, second Earl of Cardigan.

pleases me most in it is the hopes that the neighbourhood may sometimes afford me an opportunity of waiting on your Grace.

I have seen a letter from Mr. Irons, very full of acknowledgements for the post you have given him. The Duchess of Shrewsbury gives you her most humble service and best wishes for your success and safety. I do the same, and am, &c.


DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

Meldert, July 27th, 1707.

Being obliged to be abroad almost the whole day of the last post, I could not answer yours of the 6th as I ought.

You may be assured that I shall not send the letter to 56, (King of Sweden,) but as corrected and approved by yourself and friends, but by what I have from thence, I am in hopes there will be no occasion of writing; but if there should, I believe we must do it without acquainting 62; for it is certain that 100 (the Dutch) will never consent to have the preliminaries sent; for I am afraid they are of an opinion they will never be obtained of 43, (France,) however, I am of an opinion that 108 (England) must never depart from them.

You will see by my last letter to 199 (Mr. Harley) that I shall delay the answer to 116's (the States) letter, for, by what is written from Vienna of the behaviour of the Hungarians, I think even 116 (the States) will be of an opinion this is not



a proper time for the pressing 46 (the Emperor). You have done very well in sending the memorial of Portugal to Holland ; for by it you will gain time, and at last you will be answered with the impossibility of their helping, and their hopes of the Queen's generosity in helping the King of Portugal. Would it not be a good expedient to gain more time, as soon as you have the States' answer to the memorial, to send Lord Galway to 129, (Portugal,) by which you may amuse that court ; for, whatever expense you make in that country, I look upon it as money flung into the sea, for they have neither officers nor good inclinations, but by this method you may keep them in hopes till the next spring. I can't but think it extremely for the Queen's service, that you continue firm in the resolution of paying no more regiments in Catalonia than there may be English soldiers to complete ; and whatever Spaniards or other foreign troops England would be at the expense of, that ought to be by subsidy, and not regular pay, and there ought to be care taken that the clothing which are there upon the account of private regiments, should not be given to other people, for that expense at last will fall upon the Queen.

The count of Wratislau's letter, which I sent you by the last post, agrees extremely with the notion I have for the scheme for the next campaign, for should Toulon not be taken, the war must be continued, but if that should succeed, I should then

hope France would be forced to give such conditions as England should think reasonable. I do assure you, I am so weary of all this matter, that nothing can make me happy but being in quiet at Woodstock.

I received, last night, the inclosed letters from Prince Eugene and Sir Cloudesley Shovel. I am extremely glad to find they have resolved to attack Toulon; in the first place, if they succeed, it will be the greatest misfortune could have happened to France. The last two lines in Prince Eugene's letter should not be seen but to few: you must not be much alarmed at his expression, for it is his way to think everything difficult, till he comes to put them in execution, but then he acts with so much vigour, that he makes amends for all his desponding. Though he writes in this mannerto me, I am sure to the officers of the army his discourse is contrary. I would not stay for the post, but send this by Colonel Britton, so that her Majesty might have this good news as soon as possible. With my humble duty, I beg you will assure her of my hearty congratulations and prayers that she may ever be happy.

LORD CONINGSBY TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

Dublin, July 27, 1707.

The principles upon which the generality of the people of this country act, are so strange to the honesty and integrity of my Lord Lieutenant, that it

has been none of the least difficulties with those that knew them better than it was possible for my Lord to do, to prevail with him to guard himself against them; and the intrigue of one* who expected to fill his place, carried on by some of his emissaries sent over for that purpose, has been like to make this parliament very uneasy, but we have overcome both; and on Saturday the vote for the support of the Government was carried by so great a majority, and without a division, that I cannot but conclude from it, all here will end entirely to the satisfaction of her Majesty.

I wish your Grace as glorious a conclusion of this campaign as ever you yet had of any, and that you may return from finishing the war to enjoy the pleasure of a lasting peace, which, whenever it pleases God to bless us, will be under him chiefly owing to yourself.

LORD GODOLPHIN TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

April 23, O. S., 1708.

I writ to you yesterday by Mr. Darell, who goes over in the same packet with this; so it is likely you will receive both my letters at the same time. I have little to add in this, but that after I had sent him my own letter for you, the Queen sent me a letter for him to carry to you, which I hope he will deliver to you.

* Probably Lord Wharton.

To this moment we have not heard of the arrival of the troops at Ostend, though they must certainly have been there before this time. Lieutenant General Erle is not yet returned from reviewing the troops at Northampton, so I cannot yet give you any certain account in what condition they are like to be. He has chosen William Seymour for his Major General, who seems to be well pleased with it and very desirous to serve.

Mr. Boscawen * tells me his friend and countryman, my Lord Mohun, seems willing to part with his regiment, if you approve of it, and appoint the person with whom he should treat for it. Since he never will apply himself as he ought to do, I think upon all accounts he were better out of the army than in it.

Sir George Byng is come to town ; but has not yet had that countenance shown him, which either his past diligence, or the hopes of his future behaviour, would naturally lead him to expect ; those who have no credit with Mrs. Morley do him all the ill offices imaginable. Mr. Montgomery (Lord Godolphin) has taken some pains to change this temper and to reconcile them ; but I am not certain what will be the effect of it. This I am certain of, that if these prejudices are not to be cured, the advices they occasion will ruin the service and those that give them.

* Hugh Boscawen, Esq., afterwards created Viscount Falmouth. He was brother-in-law of Lord Godolphin, a staunch Whig, and an active member of Parliament. He was member for Cornwall.

In a word, we must hope you will do miracles abroad, and afterwards that those may produce yet greater miracles at home.

MR. BRYDGES TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

June 4th, 1708.

My Lord,

I am just returned from Hereford, where I thought it necessary to continue some days after my election was over, in order to confirm and fix that interest which, by the industry of my enemies, I found at my coming down to have been a little shaken. I did, indeed, meet with opposition. A countryman of mine, well known to your Grace, and who is sufficiently versed in the arts of undermining, had conceived hopes of bringing in another in my room ; but I defeated his designs by a greater majority than was ever known upon any poll in that place before ; and such an one as will render my election there for the future very quiet and easy. But, upon this occasion, I beg leave to own, with the deepest sense of respect and gratitude, that I reckoned it one of the most pleasing and happy accidents of my whole life, when I found myself so much the care of the two greatest men this kingdom has produced, as by their recommendation to be chosen in another place, though this pleasure is somewhat allayed by the fears I have of never being able to deserve or make returns for all those marks of goodness. There remains nothing now to com-

plete my wishes, but to see your Grace return full of health, and adorned with new trophies, and that I may at your feet express how much I am, my Lord, &c. &c.

LORD GODOLPHIN TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

June 13th, 1708.

The Count de Briançon tells me he had a letter from his master, in which he bids him tell me the affair at Toulon is easier than it was last year. You will easily imagine I was not backward in saying everything that I thought proper to encourage him to have it always in his view, if ever it were in his power, to make that attempt with success, and particularly that it would turn more to 58's (Duke of Savoy) honour and advantage to do it now than it would to have done it last year, when he had the assistance of 48 (Prince Eugene); but now it would be all owing to himself alone. This conversation ended with great appearance of satisfaction on both sides. But I am now going to give you an account of one this morning betwixt Mr. Montgomery (Lord Godolphin) and Mrs. Morley (the Queen) which ended with the greatest dissatisfaction possible to both. They have had of late many great contests, as I am told, upon the subject of 4's (Lord Halifax) brother, (Sir James Montagu,) but without any ground gained on either side. This day it held longer than ever. The particulars, as they have

been related to me, are both too tedious and unnecessary to trouble you with them.

In short, the obstinacy was unaccountable, and the battle might have lasted till midnight, if after the clock had struck three the Prince of Denmark had not thought fit to come in and look as if he thought it were dinner-time.

I hope your next will acquaint us with Prince Eugene's arrival, which will be very welcome news to me.

DUKE OF HAMILTON TO THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND.*

Wakefield, May 8, 1708.

My Lord,

I arrived here this morning by four o'clock; for the ways are so very bad, that the prisoners † were not able to make their journies as the routes were projected at first. They came to this place but yesterday, and got out from hence about nine o'clock.

I expected to have found them at Nottingham on Sunday, but could not learn where they were till last night that I arrived at Barnesley: and now I can tell you, that mighty pains have been taken to load the Whigs and the squadron with their being

* The following letters relate to the keenly contested elections of Scottish peers after the union. It was his interference in these elections which drew on the Earl of Sunderland the particular displeasure of the Queen; and to which there are several allusions in the foregoing Correspondence of the Duchess of Marlborough.

† On a threatened invasion in favour of the Pretender, several of the Scottish peers, who were suspected of favouring him, had been arrested, but had been allowed to give bail.

brought up. I find I shall have more difficulty in Scotland than I expected ; but that shall make me double my diligence. There were but three peers here, the Viscount Stormont,* Kilsyth,† and Lord Nairne,‡ Duke of Athol's brother. The first did not qualify himself before he came away ; but now I have persuaded him to do it, and, upon his arrival, he will apply to have liberty to do it, and will give me his proxy, and will come into our interest, though he was hitherto averse to qualify ; yet I can assure now he'll come close into the Queen's interest in the right way, so I beg your lordship may look upon him as one so resolved ; for he has allowed me to say so in his name, and has allowed me liberty to name such as may conduce for the common interest, and does not pretend to be of the sixteen himself ; but desires I may take care of some others, and leaves it in general to me to do as is concerted with other friends of your lordship's and mine.

My Lord Kilsyth did qualify, and in the right manner, for the county court was held by the Earl of Dalhousie § in the castle of Edinburgh, so the

* David Murray, fifth Viscount Stormont, and father of the first Earl of Mansfield.

† William Livingston, third and last Viscount Kilsyth.

‡ Lord William Murray, fourth son of John, first Marquis of Athol, who succeeded to the title of his father-in-law, Lord Nairne, in 1683. He was afterwards attainted of high treason. He and his family were resolute Jacobites.

§ William Ramsay, fifth Earl of Dalhousie, Brigadier-General, and commander of the Scots Guards.

forms were all duly observed ; he's a man of honour and sense, and great application has been made to him, and all assurances of friendship given him by 120 (Lord Leven's) * and 106 (Duke of Queensbury's) friends ; but for all that I can depend upon him, though he has given his 161 (proxy) to 120 (Lord Leven). If he can be despatched to 156 (the election) he will be thoroughly with the 166, (Whigs,) and I will answer for him ; but he knows not how to come off his engagements any other way, but by saying, he being to be of the number himself, must be excused to alter what he has done ; but the best way to do that effectually, will be to despatch him and send him to us ; he being already qualified, takes himself to be in better circumstances for so doing, and is really a man of weight and merit with us, and one, I can answer, who will adhere firm to what he promises, though he is entirely my friend. I have had more difficulty with him, because of his being under those engagements which proceeded only from not knowing what was done by me, so what distinction is now shewed him will be considered as done by the 166 (Whigs). And it's necessary, as things stand at present, that 106 (Duke of Queensbury) be not thought to have the

* George, first Earl of Melville, who succeeded to the title of Earl of Leven by right of his wife, Lady Katherine Leslie, granddaughter of the great General of the Covenanters. Lord Melville had been a partizan of the unfortunate Monmouth, he fled to Holland, and was attainted, but returning with King William, was restored to his estates and title, and created an earl.

prevailing power, which they give out in 186 (Edinburgh,) and if you don't take a little care as to that, your friends will have a very difficult task ; for all the industry imaginable has been used to lay the load of calling up our people upon the Whigs, and their friends, which has helped to sour 152 (Scotland) more than I can express, and it's for that reason I shall find the difficulties I am to encounter.

As for Lord Nairne, the two I have been talking of are the only proper persons to deal with him ; I did all I could, but till he talks with his wife, who is now in London, he could come to no resolution. I fancy he will either not qualify himself, or if he does, he'll do what we desire ; but by 41 L., 31 A., 34 D., 53 Y., 50 N., 43 N., 42 M., 44 O., 47 R., 35 E., 104 (Lord Treasurer), has great influence there. 139 (Lord Marr*) is on the road, and is to meet the 45 (p), 47 (r), 39 (i), 48 (s), 44 (o), 43 (n), 35 (e), 81 (r), 82 (s), (prisoners), to influence them for the Duke of Queensbury.

I go from hence this night, and being now in a hurry, I hope you'll excuse the confusedness of this scribble. As I see the others you shall have an account of what passes. I am with faithful service and entire friendship, most humbly yours,

HAMILTON.

* John Erskine, eleventh Earl of Marr, Secretary of State for Scotland in 1706. He joined the Pretender in 1715, and was attainted.


I had almost forgot to tell you, that it will be necessary that Lord Stormont be immediately qualified in order to make him capable of assisting us the way and manner whereof you must direct, and communicate to Mason, my agent, who will obey your commands. If your lordship thinks fit, you may acquaint Lord Kilsyth with what I have written to your lordship about him ; for he's a man of honour, and you'll find him worth your consideration ; but I leave this, as I do all other things, to your own management. I have taken the liberty to write to my Lord Somers also ; and I hope you'll excuse my putting the inclosed to Mason under your cover. Forgive me putting you in mind of getting the Duke of Richmond's* proxy.

Weatherby, May 19.

I could get no further than this place last night, it being across the country and no horses to be got ; and this morning I have had the honour of a visit from my Lord Chief Baron, to whom I have talked as plainly as your lordship did. Everybody, I find, denies their accession to the Duke of Queensbury's new honours ; but yet it's done. It seems he must have more interest than all of you ; for I am told her Majesty herself was not fond of it, her treasurer did not approve of it, your lordship I am sure did not, and yet this honour must be crowded on his

* Charles Lennox, illegitimate son of Charles II. by the celebrated Duchess of Portsmouth.

Grace. I am told that he reports that he parted well with me, and that he had satisfied me ; I hope he'll make that more effectually true than he has already given, for I can never be so and he created a peer of Great Britain first, where my family is elective ; and now I am told I get this mortification because I am joined with the Whigs ; but to make the Duke of Queensbury yet more guilty to me, I am told it's yet in his power to stop his warrant, and let one for me be passed first. If my friends have a mind it should be so, I'll only answer for my own part, it would be the wisest thing the Duke of Queensbury could do for himself ; and if that should be your lordship's, and you should wish to have another of your friends in my place at this election, and I think your lordship might speak plainly to my Lord Treasurer, that since this step is made for the Duke of Queensbury, that it's hard this mortification should be given to my family. The Duke of Hamilton, my father, served the common interest at a time when the Duke of Queensbury did not ; and whatever our persons now are, the Duke of Queensbury's family would not have thought themselves injured to come some steps after mine. I pretend to no merit but my father's services ; I think a lasting injury should not be done to my family. I know by the articles of the union, it will give him no place ; but for all that, his being created a Duke while I am elective, does not sound right ; since there may be as much merit in keeping things right



that are done, as in the doing of them, which I will ever own I was not for, and yet maintain it right to preserve it now that it is done. I mean the union ; so that I am sure those who will favour me have enough to say, and I hope they shall find me worthy of it.

I am informed now, that the Duke of Queensbury gives out, that if he finds things to go to cross his expectations at Edinburgh, at the last he can compound with the squadron, he can *take them* one, and leave my worship in the lurch ; but that does not at all frighten me. I own to everybody I will assist the squadron, and that it is principally for their friends' sakes, the Whigs above ; and I make no bones of owning this, though I am told her Majesty's servants come down with great powers of all kinds to influence this election, and that marks of favour are only to be shewn to those who will be the Duke of Queensbury's servants and follow his measures. Now, since I am resolved to serve her Majesty as well as the Duke of Queensbury, and that it's only as to the method with relation to the persons ; I hope her Majesty shall be convinced before the end of the next session, those I endeavour and wish to serve, will be as capable as any of the Duke of Queensbury's list for promotion.

My lord, I hope you'll pardon all this ; but from the abundance of the heart the mouth speaks, and I am ever unalterably yours.

If you are able to read this I am very lucky ; for it's written in such haste, I can hardly do it myself.

THE EARL OF ORKNEY TO THE EARL OF
SUNDERLAND.

Berwick, May 21, 1708.

I have had the misfortune to miss all the prisoners but the last number, where were Earl Mareschal,* Murray,† Belhaven,‡ and St. Clair. || I found them extremely surprised at my brother's proceedings, for they expected he would have joined the other people, which made Mareschal give his proxy to the Earl of Leven. Belhaven has qualified, but has not disposed of his. St. Clair never has qualified, nor Earl Murray, but the last it is little matter for ; if he did, he would be wrong. For Mareschal, he was extremely vexed at what he had done, but told me he did not know how to help it; that he would write to my Lord Leven to insert me in his list. I told him that would signify nothing, he must recall his proxy, and give it to my brother Hamilton ; and I am hopeful he will do it when he meets my brother. For my Lord St. Clair, I find him very right, but I doubt he can't be up in time to qualify, for, by

* William Keith, ninth Earl Marischal.

† Charles Stewart, fifth Earl of Moray.

‡ Sir John Hamilton, third Baron Belhaven, a zealous opponent of the Union.

|| Henry, eighth Baron Sinclair, a zealous adherent to the House of Stuart.

his route, it will be the 16th of June before they be at London.

I find they are all mighty surprised at the favour that is shewn to Queensbury and the other party, and particularly the new title he has got.

My Lord, I can assure your Lordship, except there be something done to shew some countenance towards us, I do assure you I am afraid we shall make but a very bad figure; and, by what I can learn, nothing would be of more use than the laying aside the Registrar who is to make the returns, and who is capable of playing us twenty tricks that can't be remedied afterwards. This is a point that I hope, my Lord, you will think it worth your while to labour to effect; and since so great a favour has been shown to the Duke of Dover, pray, my Lord, let us have a fling at his minion: it is of the last consequence. I do think I may answer for my brother Hamilton doing what possibly can be done; for I think, when I left him, he was thoroughly convinced; and be assured, my Lord, we shall all labour heartily, but we can't make brick without straw. I must say the bringing up these men prisoners has been of very ill consequence, for they could have served us much in both the elections of peers and commons; and if it were possible to hasten them up, I believe Somerset and St. Clair would qualify themselves.

I hear my Lord Irwin* lives near York, and that

* Edward Ingram, fourth Viscount Irvine.

he was very busy about the county election. I wish, my Lord, you could inquire how he is inclined, and see if his proxy is to be had. Forgive, my Lord, the length of my letter, and believe me, with great truth and respect, &c. &c.

THE DUKE OF HAMILTON TO THE EARL OF
SUNDERLAND.

Hollyrood House, May 22, 1708.

My Lord,

I arrived here this night, but it's now so late, that I am afraid I shall hardly have time, by this post, to inform you of all that I have done since my last. I met the second caravan of prisoners at Boroughbridge, but there was none amongst that number that could qualify, except the Viscount of Kenmure,* and finding no disposition in him, I did not press it the next day. I found at Morpeth the third set, where I found the Earl of Mareschal, the Earl of Murray, the Lord St. Clair, and the Lord Belhaven. I can't express the pains that have been taken amongst those Lords to obtain their proxies. The Earl of Mareschal and Lord Belhaven only had qualified themselves, and the first had given his proxy to the Earl of Leven; but I have prevailed upon him to recall it, and he has given me his proxy anew, and done it in the form that was desired.

* William, sixth Viscount Kenmure, who, having joined in the Rebellion, was executed on Tower Hill, in 1716.

They have been all most grossly imposed upon, and have had a thousand lies told them, so that I assure you we have much more difficulty here than I expected ; but I have had all the success I could expect from those I was to get to recall what they had done. The Duke of Queensbury has had the interest to keep those here he inclined, and to get others at liberty.

So I entreat your Lordship may use all possible means, first to order those who are upon the road to make more haste to town, and that they rest only on the Sundays, and may be ordered to make as long journeys as the marching of the troops will allow of, for you can't imagine the good it would do to us here, that after their examinations they were returned. Those that arrive first may certainly be here in time ; that's, the Viscount of Stormont and Kilsyth. The first has promised to me to qualify himself and send me his proxy, as I told your Lordship in my last, and the other will recall his. And of the last set that I met at Morpeth, the Earl of Mareschal has recalled his. Lord St. Clair will qualify himself as soon as you'll give him an opportunity, and send his proxy ; and 128 (Lord Belhaven) will come into our measures entirely ; and I can answer fully for him, he'll make his application to your Lordship as soon as he arrives. All of them beg not to be sent to the Tower, and I believe your Lordship will find it much easier for you to keep them in messengers' hands, for by that

means they are of easier access ; and I know, if they should be sent to the Tower, it would anger them so much that they might go back of what they now intend to do.

The Countess of Murray was very earnest with me to write to your Lordship in favour of the Earl, her husband. I know he'll not qualify himself ; he has never taken any oath since the Revolution, but will give what bail can be required. I have also got another Lord, who lives near Morpeth, the Lord Rutherford, to qualify, and he will give his proxy. I entreat your Lordship would think with your friends, and get Lord Irvine's, that it may be sent down, for we shall need all the assistance can be given us. If 123 (Lord Regent) could be removed, it would be of the last importance,—it's worth your consideration, for 38 H., 35 R., 42 M., 31 A., 40 R., 69 E., 47 R., 83 T., 72 H., 35 E., 47 R., 49 T., 50 N., 81 R., 77 N., 82 S., 78 O., 70 F., 156 and 157 (election of peers).

Since my arrival I have helped Mr. Cockburn's election, which is to be on Tuesday next. I long to hear how the elections go with you. I hope your Lordship will pardon this free way of writing, and do me the favour to let me know if my letters came safe. I spoke to Mr. Rodam, the postmaster at Berwick, as I passed, and told him he would have orders from above to take special care of what letters I should send for your Lordship ; so I hope you won't forget to give your orders for that end by

the next post. I shall let you know how I find matters here. I am with perfect friendship and obedience, &c.

I beg pardon for the liberty I take in sending the inclosed for Mason, with one in it to my wife, which I hope you'll allow of.

DE FOE TO THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

May 26, 1708.

My Lord,

I have endeavoured to pay the debt of correspondence to your Lordship by the method your Lordship directed, viz., by Mr. Shute; but have not the favour of a line from him to signify the receipt of it, which makes me fear it is not come to his hand.

Yet I could not satisfy myself with neglecting my duty to your Lordship on so weak an excuse, and therefore resolved to write directly to your Lordship: and on this head I wrote your Lordship the enclosed.

Now, you will pardon my weakness, my Lord, in this. Were I keeping a foul and false correspondence between this port and England, or serving two masters, which would in effect be betraying one, I should want to engage either side to secresy; but, my Lord, my strait is of another kind, and I find no remedy for it but in an open, candid, and honest

stating the case to your Lordship, and depending on your Lordship's gracious care for me, of which I have had sufficient testimony.

I have, since my coming hither, from time to time given my Lord Treasurer an account of affairs here, in such a manner as I persuade myself shall be exact as to truth of fact, useful to his Lordship, and for the good and advantage even of this country too; and I have the honour and satisfaction of his Lordship's approving my thoughts on those things.

I have no reason to doubt, but his Lordship finding me faithful and capable, will, as he shall think I merit, consider either my services or circumstances, and I leave that entirely to God and his Lordship's goodness.

But when I write to your Lordship as by the enclosed, and solicit your Lordship not to communicate the secret of my writing to your Lordship, which looks as if something clandestine was acting, a thing which in all my life, I thank God, I have abhorred, it has shocked me, sending it without this explanation, and that has kept me from forwarding it for some days.

I doubt not but my Lord Treasurer may have communicated to your Lordship what I have wrote, and I know your Lordship and my Lord Treasurer are in one interest, and both entirely in the interest of England, the same interest of truth, liberty, and peace, which all good men love, and equally honour

your Lordships for, and therefore all my caution in this case, (shall I acknowledge it?) has been my own interest, a thing till now, my Lord, I confess I never pursued, and my distress has been here. I hope your Lordship will not let it be said I speak it with more ingenuity than discretion. That my Lord Treasurer, supposing your Lordship supports me, should decline, what otherwise his Lordship may design to do for me, or your Lordship supposing my Lord Treasurer, &c. *vice versa*, I need say no more, but begging your Lordship's pardon, I venture the enclosed, and laying myself at your Lordship's feet, recommend me only for so much kindness, in this case, as your Lordship shall think I merit. I have but one humble petition to close this matter with, that if it be acceptable to your Lordship that I should continue to represent the affairs of this county to your Lordship, in the best manner I can, your Lordship will be pleased, either by a servant, *if not doing me the honour of a line from your Lordship*, directed to Robert Davis at the post-house in Edinburgh, to signify in two words the receipt of this, and what else your Lordship pleases to command.

DE FOE.

P. S. I have some other things of consequence to communicate to your Lordship after I have the honour to know that this comes safe to your Lordship's hand.

THE DUKE OF HAMILTON TO THE EARL OF
SUNDERLAND.

Hollyrood House, May 27, 1708.

My Lord,

I was in hopes to have heard by this time that my letter from Wakefield and Weatherby had reached your hands. 148 (Mr. Cockburn has) carried his election, and I have rendered 147 (Mr. Bayly's) perfectly easy; it will be over to-morrow. 139 (Lord Mar) and 108 (Lord Loudon)* are both here and very busy: they have great advantages, for all the smiles and power is lodged with them, and 107 (Lord Seafield).† So that it's very hard to make brick without straw. 109 (Duke of Roxburgh) and 110 (Duke of Montrose) are not yet in town. Believe me, it imports you to procure some distinguishing marks to your friends here, for all depends now upon it, if some of the prisoners were just returned here in time before the elections, it would do a vast deal of good. Those here think we have no power to help them, and the others tell them they can and will, which makes it very difficult for us. 117 (Lord Islay) has absolutely refused us. 106 (Duke of Queensbury's) friends stuck at nothing, and commit all the irregularities in the elections that's possible. There would be no end to portraiture all the particulars;

* Hugh Campbell, third Earl of Loudoun, a trusty adherent to King William.

† James Ogilvie, third Earl of Seafield.

however they don't go all to their minds. 122 (Lord Annandale's) friend has carried in that district, where the Duke of Queenbury's interest lies, and there will be many double returns. I shall give your Lordship no further trouble at present, but assure you that I am with great respect, &c.

DUKE OF HAMILTON TO THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

Hollyrood House, May 29, 1708.

My Lord,

I wrote to your Lordship what is here enclosed ; but it came not in time for the last post, so I send it now. 113 (Lord Marchmont) arrived here this morning, as the Duke of Montrose did this night. 147 (Mr. Bayly) has carried his election without the struggle he apprehended ; and I am doing what I can to make 149 (Mr. Haddon) have the same success. We would do better if we had more help from above. I hear 33 (C), 31 (a), 47 (r), 42 (m), 65 (a), 81 (r), 49 (t), 38 (h), 35 (e), 43 (n), were to be 38 (h), 35 (e), 69 (e), 81 (r), which will do a great deal of hurt to our 161 (proxies). 107 (Lord Seafield) says everywhere that 161 (proxies) can't be 47 (r), 69 (e), 67 (c), 31 (a), 41 (l), 69 (e), 68 (d) ; but by being 45 (p), 81 (r), 35 (e), 40 (s), 69 (e), 77 (n), 83 (t). So you may see the necessity of those I have mentioned, being 38 (h), 35 (e), 69 (e), 47 (r). We hear nothing of 114 (Lord Sutherland). You'll hear from the Duke of Montrose, so I won't trouble you with repetitions ; but the want of our

proxies is unaccountable. 107 (Lord Seafield), 139 (Lord Mar), and 106 (Lord Loudon), brag they can be well with 166 (the Whigs) when they please; and if things should come to the worst, which they are very apprehensive of, they hope by a 42 (m), 39 (i), 52 (x), 49 (t), 75 (l), 39 (i), 48 (s), 83 (t), 49 (t), 44 (o), 68 (d), 69 (e), 50 (v), 35 (i), 34 (d), us, in which they will be mistaken. Pray mind the Duke of Richmond and Lord Irwin, and 69 (e), 52 (x), 45 (p), 81 (r), 35 (e), 48 (s), must come 51 (w), 39 (i), 88 (t), 72 (h), them. I know your Lordship will hear from others, so I shall add no more, but that I am, with entire respect, yours,
H.

DUKE OF ROXBURGHE TO THE EARL OF
SUNDERLAND.

May, 1708.

My Lord,

I am so tired for want of victuals I can only tell your Lordship our election, I think, is much better than I expected. I send your Lordship here enclosed the list* of those returned; but I believe when the House of Lords consider the protests that were

* *Enclosure*—Hamilton 59 (arrested as suspected, and his two brothers also)—Montrose 48.—Roxburghe 49.—Crawford 49.—Rothes 43.—Orkeney 55 (favourable to Lord Sunderland's party).—Lothian 50 (rejected by the House of Lords, and Marquis of Annandale admitted).—Mar 55 (had the Duke of Marlborough's proxy).—Lowdown 50.—Leaven 53 (hostile to the Duke of Hamilton).—Seafield 51.—Roseberry 58.—Glasgow 51.—Islay 54.—Wemys 52.—Northesk 56.

made, they will not find the return right; at least, they will have very much ground upon the protests to reject some of those returned and admit others. The messenger is despatched in great haste, that your Lordship may have the first account of this matter, and I am now writing at the clerk's board at two o'clock of the morning; but it is impossible to give your Lordship any further account of this affair just now, for to wait for an extract of the minutes would be too long. Besides your Lordship will have time enough before the Parliament meets to consider them. I hope your Lordship will believe me sensible of all your favours, and that there is none more sincerely yours, &c. &c.

ROXBURGHE.

I must say it was a lucky thing my Lord and Lady Orkney came hither; but your Lordship shall know more of this when I have the honour to wait on you. I must add likewise, it was well my Lords Aberdeen and Saltoun were not got out, for my Lord Leven had fixed them both; but we have protested against them, because the sheriff could not qualify them in the castle, it being a constabulary by itself. I must recommend my Lord Belhaven to your Lordship's favour, who has resisted a great many offers to-day; and I believe nothing shall be neglected that may prove what threatening and promises have been made on this occasion.

THE DUKE OF HAMILTON TO THE EARL OF
SUNDERLAND.

Hollyrood House, June 1, 1708.

My Lord,

I had the honour of yours of the 27th yesterday, and as soon as it came to my hands, I called a meeting of our friends, and communicated it to them, the result of which was, that all of us unanimously agreed that one should be immediately despatched with a full account of our circumstances here, and I am sure your Lordship will be convinced we could not make a better choice than the bearer, Mr. Cockburn, as being known to all our friends above, and entirely trusted by all here, so I shall not need to trouble your Lordship with a long letter, having such a bearer as this is. Only I must acquaint your Lordship, that we meet daily with great difficulties, and yet I may say I am far from desponding; on the contrary, by way of our talking, we have given a good deal of uneasiness to our opposers already; and since your Lordship assures us that your strength in the House of Commons is by this election increased 70, I shall never think but such an addition to the majority you had will create a most respectful attention to what's desired by you—but we were very much surprised here, when the other day 139 (Lord Mar) told in public, that by the preceding post he had received the 102 (Duke of Marlborough's) 161 (proxy) which was

told on purpose, that by that it might be known how 163 (the Court) would declare. Now your Lordship may judge of the importance of this, as well as we, and of the consequences that must attend it, and therefore you must both take your own measures and fortify us with what you can, for by this you may see it is a public declaration of inclinations, though I shall never think this had been done if the majority of 70 had been known before it was executed. But it is to no purpose to look backward; let the lucky circumstance of such a majority vigorously explain new thoughts, and before it is too late let what is possible be done towards retrieving it. I am persuaded all the noble persons who write by this bearer will enforce it to your Lordship with better reasons than I can, the importance of getting those prisoners who arrive first despatched back to us with the utmost diligence, the Viscount Stormont and Kilsyth, which would be the most effectual way of recalling other proxies; and that it were known that by your Lordship and your friends' means above, and those of your friends' endeavours here, this were obtained, would create a credit which is absolutely requisite for the good of the main interest. For the Duke of Queensbury and his partisans have with all the industry imaginable laid so much load on 166 (the Whigs) above, and particularly on the 48 (s), 46 (q), 51 (u), 31 (a), 68 (d), 47 (r), 44 (o), 43 (n) here, that something of real power must be shown

both to reconcile and to give credit, especially since every moment some new mask starts out showing the power of our adversaries. And if we had but a little to counterbalance them, I assure your Lordship we could make successful use of it, for it would carry our election of the 157 (Peers). Undoubtedly 118 (Lord Ewell's) liberation would be an act of humanity, his condition requires it so much, and the liberation of those prisoners who are here upon bail would get us both their votes and reputation that we were in a condition to serve our friends, which would get you many essential ones here, which might be of effectual use to the common good. I will not enlarge on this, but leave it to the consideration of such wise judges as your Lordship and your friends with you. The bearer has memorandums of things I don't here trouble your Lordship with repetitions of, but I am sure you will see that something is necessary to be done, and you will think it certainly requisite to exert yourselves on this occasion, for it's rivetting all the erring this 156 (election) at this time.

And now, my Lord, you will be pleased to send expresses, if you have anything to say to us here, for after this, by the ordinary post, it will come too late to have any returns from hence before the 17th, so I shall give your Lordship no further trouble at present, but continue, with perfect respect and friendship, entirely yours. H.

THE DUKE OF HAMILTON TO THE EARL OF
SUNDERLAND.

Hollyrood House, June 12, 1708.

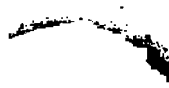
My Lord,

I had the favour of your Lordship's of the 7th upon the 11th, early in the morning: it puts a new life amongst us, and what came by that express has given a mighty turn to things here, so that I have good hopes we shall succeed, which, if we do, is entirely due to the spirit you have sent amongst us. You may believe it not easy to struggle against what we have here at present opposing us, 163 (the Court) in general, the 100 (Queen's), 102 (D. of M.), 104 (Ld. Tr.), 43 (n), 31 (a), 42 (m), 35 (e), 48 (s), used on all occasions. 106 has advanced such things of 134, that 105 (Duke of Hamilton) has assured 106 that he will afford him an opportunity of justifying himself. This is a mighty busy time with us, so it is impossible I can write anything at length as I ought to do, but I hope you will excuse it. There are such violations and encroachments on our constitution as never were attempted here before; to make votes in the county of Lanark, they have been endeavouring the bringing in of eleven new barons, several of them inferior servants or dragoons in Lord Carmichael's regiment, who were to be purchasers of lands they knew nothing of, nor had paid nothing for, but their names used even without the knowledge of some of them,

and if this trick had taken effect, it was redeemable for less than twenty shillings, and the freeholds to be re-delivered after the elections are over. But this is too long a story to trouble your Lordship with now ; but with a good deal of difficulty I got nine of those signatures delayed one day from passing in the Exchequer, which is no small point, thereby they can't come in time to the election of the shire of Lanark, where my brother, Lord Archibald, stands as a candidate.

139 (Lord Mar) is to the highest degree lofty, and pretends to mighty 36 (f), 69 (a), 50 (v), 44 (o), 47 (r). You see 118's discharge was ordered some time ago by 146 (Mr. Boyle) ; in short, all appearances are made that can give a show of power.

I am glad to hear from Mr. Cockburn, that we may expect Viscount Kilsyth before the 17th ; it will be of the last importance that he come in time, but still we have no account of the Earl of Sutherland's arrival, nor of the Duke of Len. I have had application made to me this night to intreat your favour to the Laird of Kier. I shall be able in some time to inform your Lordship of his circumstance, but in the meantime I hope you will give orders he be well used in the prison. Lord Stormont and his son has wrote two letters to this place, giving an account of the favourable usage the prisoners have met with, which has done us a great deal of good, and owns their obligation to your Lordship and your friends



in a most extraordinary manner. I am ever, with entire friendship and respect, most faithfully yours.

H.

THE DUKE OF HAMILTON TO THE EARL OF
SUNDERLAND.

Hollyrood House, June 17, 1708.

My Lord,

This is to give your Lordship an account of the election which has passed, and there never was such doings, for the Duke of Dover pretended to elect, though he is a Peer created since the Union. I made a protest against it, which is lodged in the hands of the clerks; there were a hundred of absurdities, but we have taken many protestations which will appear before your Lordships. It were endless to repeat all that has been done in relation to the informalities; amongst other things they admitted of the Lord Forrester's proxy, though I and two more of his guardians produced an extract from the register of baptisms of his not being of age, and by this single vote, several of our members were prevented from being returned; but I hope when our protests come to be considered by the Lords, we shall have several other members returned. I write this at the clerk's table, so I hope your Lordship will excuse the confusion of this relation, but in a day or two you shall have a particular account. I send your Lordship also a list here inclosed, but such doing I never saw, and the methods most irregular.

My brother, Lord Archibald, carried his election in the shire of Clydesdale, after all the malicious unfair dealing that ever was in any country, and it only served to show malice without interest, for the Lord Carmichael had not above eight good votes to 36. Pardon the scribble, and believe me with great respect, your Lordship's most humble servant,

HAMILTON.

THE EARL OF MAR TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

Edinburgh, June 18, 1708.

My Lord,

Yesterday being our day of battle here, I thought myself obliged to give your Grace an account of it. I send inclosed a list of the sixteen peers who were chosen, with the number of votes each of them had. There is also a list of those I had the honour to vote for as proxy for your Grace; though we have the greatest part, yet I am sorry more of them did not carry, and particularly my Lord Stair. But there has been such influence used against us by great folks at London, that a great many of our old friends, and who are in the Queen's service, were frightened from us, so that it is a wonder we carried so many. By the small number of votes those had who were in opposition to us last year, your Grace may judge how little interest they would have had in this affair had it not been for this odd conjunction, which has been strenuously and pretty effectually made against us. By the methods that have been

taken against us, the peers who were in the troops were mostly against us, and I believe some of them thought it would be acceptable service ; but had but one of them who joined against us done otherwise, the two Dukes who were of the last Parliament had been left out, and two of our friends brought in their place.

I will not trouble your Grace with any more of the particulars ; but had we got but half as much assistance as those against us had, our whole list would have been carried ; and there would not have been a peer chosen but would have concurred heartily with the Queen's servants in supporting what her Majesty thought for her service. I shall be very glad that all those who are chosen may do so, but the other way the Queen would have been sure of it.

I have written fully to my Lord Stair, and if your Grace have time from your weightier affairs, and care for it, you may have the particulars from him.

The bearer is one Mr. Cunningham,* a cousin of mine, who is now chosen a member of Parliament. He is gone to serve this campaign under your Grace, though he has no post in the army. I hope your Grace will forgive me for presuming to recommend him to your favour. If I did not know him to be a pretty fellow, I should be far from doing it.

* Possibly the Historian.

Earl of Mar's list as proxy for Lord Aymouth.

June 17, 1708.

Marquis of Lothian, Earl of Mar,* Earl of Mor-
ton, Earl of Loudon, Earl of Wemys, Earl of Leven,
Earl of Northesk, Earl of Orkney, Earl of Seafield,
*Earl of Stair, Earl of Roseberry, Earl of Glasgow,
Earl of Islay, *Viscount Dupplin, *Lord Blantyre,
*Lord Balmenus.

THE DUKE OF HAMILTON TO THE EARL OF
SUNDERLAND.

June 28, 1708.

My Lord,

Were it not for men of your worth and honour,
the wicked world would go unpunished, and the
oppressed unrelieved ; and what is much worse, her
Majesty's enemies would grow strong from the en-
couragement they met with from those employed by
her Majesty, for whom I have so great a deference,
that I think it my duty to acquaint your Lordship
what happened here on Friday last.

Three of my servants finding the door open at
Gerard's Bromley, went in and took possession for
the Duke of Hamilton ; and after they had been
some time in the house, they let in five more to keep
the possession they had taken.

The people in the house, which were a great
number, and had a great many arms, came upon
them and beat them, and rung a great bell on the
top of the house, and in a very little time above two
hundred Papists were gathered to their assistance,

and bound and took my servants prisoners, after they had broken open a door or two to come at them, which they had locked in my Lord's name, and shot at them through the door before they broke it. When Mr. Justice Broughton came to them, he told them he would stand by them, and if they had not put us out of possession, he would have raised the country to have done it. Upon the road he met some tenants that were coming to meet me, and some two or so had pistols, which he took from them, and to those that had only sticks he did the same, and sent them all to close prison ; that when I sent to know whether they had any meat and drink, the servant I sent was denied access ; and when I came to the place myself, one of the rabble, a new converted Papist that he had armed with a gun, held it up at me, and the rest beat two of my footmen and sadly wounded one of their heads.

After this he would not have my witnesses examined, but examined Mr. Fleetwood's, and bound mine to their good behaviour to Mr. Fleetwood and four or five more Papists that are in Gerard's Bromley, upon forfeiture of a hundred pounds each man. Upon which I desired their witnesses might take the oaths. He refused me. Several of these people he countenances have said they'll shoot the Duke of Hamilton, and his own servants are some of the number, all of which he sent to assist them to turn our possessors out of Gerard's Bromley. Now

if such a rabble can be raised in an hour or two's time of armed Papists to the assistance of Papists, and the country disarmed by the Justices in favour of such an insurrection, I don't see how the Queen or government can be safe ; or if such Justices are suffered to continue, who can live under their oppression ?

I know your Lordship to be such a discountenancer of these kind of things, that I thought nobody so fit to apply to, besides the great post you are so deservedly placed in.

I have told your Lordship nothing but what I can have declared upon oath by more than twenty people.

I am glad I have undergone the insult and terror, since I hope it will be a means to put her Majesty in mind to suppress her enemies ; so I desire your Lordship will acquaint her Majesty of what I have troubled you with, for which I beg ten thousand pardons.

I should say much more to excuse myself, but really I am not able to write any longer ; for I have not enjoyed a moment's health since I suffered those terrible frights the usage I got occasioned.

LORD GODOLPHIN TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

Windsor, July 6-17, 1708.

It is not easy to express to you the joy we had here yesterday upon my Lord Stair's * arrival. You

* Lord Stair brought over the intelligence of the battle of Oudenarde.

must endeavour to conceive it by your own satisfaction at Oudenarde, which could not be greater than ours upon this happy occasion. The Queen will order a public thanksgiving as soon as possible ; but it will require near two months to give the necessary notice over England and Scotland.

My Lord Stair's pretensions are very just and reasonable ; but the Queen is under such difficulties in that matter, by the resolution openly declared already of contesting the Duke of Queensbury's admission in the House of Lords, till it be seen what success that will have, I have endeavoured to satisfy my Lord Stair that it would not be advisable for himself, nor for the Queen, to press it at this time, further than the assurance of her Majesty's favourable intentions, which she was very ready to give him.

You may do me the right to observe that I never trouble you with stories from hence, being sensible I ought not to make you uneasy, upon whom all our hopes and safeties depend. But since you required an account of the noise about your brother George and Mr. Walpole, I cannot but think he was very much to blame in that whole affair from the beginning to the end ; but nobody is able to give so exact an account of the particulars as Mr. Craggs, who was himself a witness to the most material part of it. I must needs add, upon this occasion, that your brother does certainly contribute very much to keep up both in the Prince and in the Queen the

natural, but very inconvenient averseness they have to the Whigs in general, and to Sir George Byng in particular, though Mr. Montgomery took all imaginable pains to reconcile them, and to give promises and assurances to each other ; and nothing is more certain than that the general dislike of your brother in that station is stronger than ever, and much harder to be supported ; but nothing less than your express command should have made me say so much to you upon so disagreeable a subject.

I make no doubt but you will judge best yourself how to prosecute the victory you have gained with most advantage ; but if, as my Lord Stair hinted to me, you follow your first thoughts of going to Lisle, I hope you may be able to make the siege of Dunkirk before the end of the year, even though it should be late, the rains I should think, would not do much harm among those sand hills, and we could help you by sea, with all manner of provisions for the army. Forgive this hint from me, since nothing can contribute so much to give us a quiet winter as this would do ; the attempt upon Scotland having very much unsettled our people's minds ; and that part of the kingdom is still in all the ferment and discontent imaginable.

We reckon here that it will not be possible for the enemy to stay in the Pays de Bas ; and, consequently, we hope Ghent and Bruges must fall to you again without your losing any time about them. If the Elector of Hanover and the Duke of Savoy

would now think fit to exert themselves upon the encouragement of this success, I don't see how it would be possible for the King of France to weather even this present campaign. But perhaps they are not so desirous of a speedy end of this war as some of their neighbours. But I will not trouble you with more of my reflections, till I know more certainly what measures you intend to take for the rest of this campaign, and where the enemy propose to make their new stand.

LORD HERVEY TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.*

Ickworth, July 17, 1708.

My Lord,

The signal services your Grace so frequently repeats for the peace and prosperity of your country, and the common cause, (whereof your Grace is not only the present tutelary genius, but your glorious character and noble actions will even do everlasting honour to the age we live in,) will not suffer those who are so zealously interested in whatever concerns your Grace or them as myself, to sit silent at a time when they happen in such eminent instances as the late battle and victory near Oudenarde, whereby your Grace has sufficiently convinced the French King, that his *derniere* resource in a General, the Duke of Vendome, can no more reassure the courage of his beaten troops against those led by your

* "Congratulates him on the victory of Oudenarde—a most curious letter."—*Coxe*.

Grace's conduct, than when they fought under the command of his other marshals, Tallard, Marsin, or Villeroy.

Success so close upon thy troops does wait
As if thou first hadst conquered fickle fate ;
Since fortune, for thy righteous cause and thee,
Seems t' have forgot her lov'd inconstancy.

I know no farther refuge he has left him, unless it be to play a second Pucelle D'Orleans upon you. But how vain a project must that prove, since we all know you have vanquished that sex as universally by the excellencies of your person, as you have ours by the ascendancy of your parts.

Veux tu des talens pour la Cour ?
Ils egalent ceux de la guerre ;
Faut il du merite en amour ?
Personne n'est plus galant sur la terre.

Since then neither sex can longer oppose you, we hope the time is now come, que votre grandeur / acheverez d'enchaîner le demon qui s'oppose à la paix de l'univers ; which must be recorded to posterity, as the greatest achievement that was ever brought to pass in any age by the merit of one man.

'Tis you the length of scattered time contract,
And in few years the work of ages act
Unparalleled in story is the change ;
But nothing where such virtue works is strange.

That the stem may still continue in such skilful hands, which were the only ones capable of preventing the shipwreck which once so imminently threatened not only this state, but all Europe, is the sincere desire of your Grace's, &c. &c.

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MR. ST. JOHN TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

London, July 6-17, 1708.

My Lord,

Your Grace will give me leave to express in this manner a joy which is too great and too sincere to be silent.

I most heartily congratulate this new addition to all the other glories of your life, which will be crowned, I make no doubt, by entirely reducing that power against which we have so long contended, and by giving to your own country, and to all Europe, that peace and security which no arm but yours could procure for them.

The death of a grandfather brought me to this place, from whence I am preparing to return again to the country, in the midst of which retreat I shall inviolably preserve in my heart that gratitude for all your favours, that zeal for your service, and that true unaffected love for your person, which I have never knowingly departed from.

I am, with the greatest respect, my Lord, &c.

Remark on the foregoing letter, by the Duchess of Marlborough, in her own hand,—“ I need not say anything of Mr. St. John’s behaviour to the Duke of Marlborough when he got into power by Lady Abigail ; but ’tis certain that the Duke of Marlborough never was so kind to any man as to him ; and I have heard my Lord Godolphin say, that he never had anything to reproach himself of, in the whole time that he served the Queen, but in complying with the Duke of Marlborough in doing unreasonable things, in point of money, for Mr. St. John, at the Duke of Marlborough’s request.”

LORD GODOLPHIN TO THE DUKE OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Windsor, July 30 Aug. 10, 1708.

Ever since my last, the wind continues so contrary and so strong, that we cannot yet have the satisfaction of hearing from you, which is the more unlucky at this time, when we hoped for the return of the messenger despatched from hence the 18th, at night, with notice of the day upon which our fleet was designed to be upon the coast of France, wind and weather permitting. But to-morrow's that day, and the wind and weather are now very bad, so God knows whether we shall be able to perform our intentions, though the fleet arrived in the Downs on the 28th, in order to it; but unless your people are in a condition to assist them, even at their landing, by the letters I have seen from Mr. Erle, which are not very sanguine, I do not expect any great advantage from what they will do.

Mr. Secretary Boyle will have informed you of the misfortune which happened to the Moscovite ambassador. I am afraid it will have very ill consequences to our merchants and trade in those parts, besides that it is disagreeable enough that a government which makes so considerable a figure in the world, should not be able to preserve foreign ambassadors from being insulted with barbarity.

I have nothing else to trouble you with by this

post, but that my Lord Peterborough is come hither this morning, with instructions to wait upon the Queen, for the first time since his return to England. However, I think the visit not so extraordinary as one she had last week from my Lord Haversham. I could not help observing to Mrs. Morley upon it, that it was not hard to make a judgment of what was like to happen next winter, when people of his behaviour meet with encouragement to come to Court.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO LORD
GODOLPHIN.

Dec. 31, 1708.

I sent yesterday an express by Ostend to acquaint her Majesty that the troops of Ghent were to march out on Wednesday, if not relieved before. This place will secure the conquest of Lille, and give us great advantages for the next campaign.

The Dutch, thinking it for the service, as really it is, to keep the Emperor's troops in this country, have assured the Prince of Savoy that they will be willing to give their part for enabling them to subsist. I beg her Majesty will approve of my assuring, that whatever the Dutch will allow, England may do the same; for should these troops return for Germany, we should not have them till the month of July at soonest. I have this morning sent a trumpet with letters to the Governor and town of Bruges, offering them the same capitula-

tions given to Ghent ; but if they give me the trouble of marching with the army, they must not expect it. I am afraid that I shall have the return of a civil answer, and the trouble of marching, which I shall give you an account of by my next.

I have directed Major General Cadogan to take the best measures he can to send you exactly, so that you may lay it before the Parliament, the forage and extraordinaries occasioned by this siege and the length of the campaign ; but this cannot be complied withall till the army is separated.

The Prince of Savoy bids me assure you that everything possible will be done to finish the dispute with the Pope.

Yours of the 14th I have this minute received, but it is so late that I must answer it by the next post.

I don't wonder at Mr. Bromley's barbarous ill-natured proceeding, since his anger proceeds from knowing that I will always serve my country to the best of my understanding, and that I shall never desire his friendship ; but what mortifies me is, that gentlemen who do approve of my services could be silent.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO LORD
GODOLPHIN.

Hague, Jan. 23, 1708-9.

The frost is so very severe that the packet-boat is froze up, and I very much doubt whether Lord

Stair will be able to make his passage in a fisher-boat from Scheveling, as he designs. Prince Eugene left this place on Sunday, and I go to Brussels to-morrow. You will see, by my letters by Palmes, the inclinations and steps that are likely to be made towards peace. Since my last I have been very much pressed concerning a barrier for this country ; but not having heard anything from you on that subject, (we having five posts due,) I have endeavoured to gain time, so that I believe they will have patience till my return, which I promised should be about the middle of next month, and then I shall know what further steps have been made by 111 (France) as to peace. Prince Eugene desires I would not stay for his arrival at Brussels, but that I should write such a letter as he might shew to the Emperor, that I would certainly embark on the first of March, and then he did not doubt but he should obtain leave to be there ; but as long as I should stay at Brussels, they would keep him at Vienna.

By this I believe there may be fifteen days between my leaving this country and his arrival. I shall endeavour to keep my going a secret, so that no yachts must be sent for me. I intend to embark at Ostend.

You know the good opinion and friendship I have for Lord Stair, so that I do make it my request to her Majesty, that if her affairs can permit it, that she would be pleased, as she has promised, to make him an English peer ; and I will be answerable the

Queen shall always find him a grateful and dutiful subject. I beg you will make this easy, so that he may have the pleasure of serving this session.

I am sorry to tell you, but it is true, that the French have reinforced their army in this country with fifty-one battalions and fifty-two squadrons, which is near three times as many as the augmentation of England and Holland ; for six thousand is the most that can be expected from this country. It is very true that ours is a real augmentation, and theirs is from weakening their armies on the Rhine and in Dauphiné. But if we should receive an affront here, it would hardly be repaired by success in those places ; so that I think it is plain the intention of the enemy is to decide the fate of the war in this country.

I beg you will give my humble duty to the Queen, and assure her Majesty that I wish her many, many happy new years.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

Jan. 17, 1709.

You will, by this post, receive a long letter from me. However I could not let Major General Palmes go without begging of you that you will inform yourself very particularly of him as to the Duke of Savoy's temper, for I fear he does not intend to do much hurt to France in this next campaign.

Palmes will inform you with the method I think he should be engaged, for I think we must by no means break with him, but, at the same time, not to be too much imposed on.

I have said nothing to Palmes nor Prince Eugene of the offers that have been made. I hope you will follow the same method, and to let as few as possible know them. I find the people here in very good humour, flattering themselves with a peace before the next campaign, which I believe is impossible; for I believe the French know that if they were beaten in this next campaign, the Dutch would not suffer them to be brought so low as we in England desire. This, joined with their bringing their troops from all parts, makes me believe that we shall have a battle early in the summer. I have acquainted the Pensioner, that whenever we treat, we must insist to have the treaty in the old method, to the Queen and her successors, and that we must have Newfoundland, and Dunkirk demolished. He feared the last would be impossible. The offers that have been made are not yet known to the States, and, if possible, it should be kept from them, for they are desirous of peace, that they would be of opinion that a partition treaty were better for them than war.

I am informed that 220 has gained much credit with the Queen. I did ever think him a very knave; I wish you may not find him so. For my own part, I have no thought but that of quietness; but whilst you and I have any share in the government, we

must do our best that the Queen and England may be happy.

I have made Palmes promise not to stay above eight days in England, so that I beg you will despatch him, for he must go to Vienna, and be at the beginning of April at Turin, in order to press their taking the field early. He has desired me to let you know that his voyages are expenceful. My next will be by Lord Stair, who thinks of leaving this place on Monday.

LORD GODOLPHIN TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

Jan. 30, 1708-9.

The wind continuing contrary, and little hopes of hearing from you before the going out of the next packet, I take this time to trouble you with some things which are reserved for your determination, that you may, if you think fit, turn your thoughts to them in the mean time.

The regiment that was Lord Charlemont's being vacant, there are several pretenders to it, as Honywood, Sutton, &c. Among them my Lord Islay, the Duke of Argyle's brother, who is very forward to serve, and has shewn himself very useful in the House of Lords in our disputes about the election of the sixteen peers from Scotland. What other pretenders you may have with you, I know not; I do not make the least promise to anybody till you come.

Another thing of the same kind is the government of Jamaica, which will soon be vacant, as Handay wishes to be relieved, and there are a great many importunities to succeed him ; but that will be kept for your disposal.

I could send you a list, I dare say, of about fifty people that have asked for the vacancy in the Council of Trade, by my Lord Herbert's death ; but it is impossible to dispose of that till after the end of the session, without disobliging 49 of that list.

When the session is like to end I am very far from being able to tell you. The examinations of the papers relating to the invasion is not yet entered upon in either House, nor the accounts of the last year's expence in Spain, nor the estimates for Spain and Portugal voted for this present year. This last is the most pressing of anything at this time, because till those estimates are voted, we can go no farther upon ways and means ; but if that step were once made, we are not without some hopes of having a proposal from the Bank for raising the remainder of the supply at once.

The subject of this letter is very different from what I generally write to you ; but till I can have the satisfaction of receiving some answer to the many letters you will have had before this time, I can only trouble you with the state of our supplies in parliament.

Mr. Palmes's instructions are agreed on, and I think he was to return to you by Friday's packet.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

Brussels, Jan. 31, 1708-9.

I have had the favour of yours of the 10th, by Ostend, and am hourly in expectation of six posts due from England, by the way of Holland. I am glad to see that I shall have your thoughts as to peace, since that will be of use to me when I return to the Hague, which will be about the middle of the next month. What you mention in your second article of pressing the Court of Vienna, I have explained that matter very fully, and with earnestness expressed my thoughts to Prince Eugene ; but I must, at the same time, own very freely to you, that I do not expect the Duke of Savoy will do anything very considerable the next campaign, so that we shall have but little ease from that side, and, if possible, less from the Elector of Hanover, by which you may guess at the circumstances we are like to be in for the next campaign, the enemy having taken their measures to have a superiority of forty battalions and fifty squadrons.

I must beg you not to think me partial, in having the honour to serve in this country ; but that really my zeal for the common cause obliges me to tell you, that if we receive an affront in this country, no success in other parts can make amends for it. At this very time the French are marching their troops from Spain, the Rhine, and Dauphiné,

in such numbers as shews very plainly that they will put their whole chance upon what may be the success of this country, in a manner abandoning, or at least neglecting, the other parts of the war. After all, when you have advised and considered of what I now write, and that you shall be of opinion that the battalions at Antwerp may be better employed, I shall lose no time in sending them wherever the Queen's pleasure shall be to command them.

I am extremely concerned at the latter part of yours, and I beg of you to do me the justice to believe, that if anything in my power; though never so hazardous, could give you ease, I should with pleasure do it. I can easily believe your being tired with business, and the great desire you have of enjoying quietness, by my own inclinations; for though I meet here with all the marks of friendship and approbation of what I have done, yet I am so desirous of retiring, that nothing but my duty to the Queen, and friendship to you, could make me resolve going through the trouble of this war. This has been a very laborious campaign; but I am sensible the next will be more troublesome, for most certainly the enemy will venture and do their utmost to get the better of us; but I trust in the Almighty, that he will protect and give success to our just cause.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

Brussels, Feb. 4, 1708-9.

By the two letters, as well as my former letters from Lord Galway, I see the desire he has of an augmentation of troops ; the same desire comes from Catalonia ; but neither do yet know the measures the French have taken for the neglecting all other posts, in order to strengthen their army in this country ; and if our parties in England will govern this campaign, in not letting measures be taken for the preventing the designs of the enemy, we may meet with such an affront as may be fatal. I can but do my duty in representing and assuring you of my obedience in whatever may be commanded.

I know it is much the best for the service that the prisoners in France should help to recruit the regiments in this country. But as I am informed, that some that certainly do not wish well to the public good, will make a noise ; so that with her Majesty's permission, I intend to send them to their several regiments, having sent the officers of these several regiments to recruit in England. The authority to Lieutenant-General Erle for the regiments in England and the recruits will be for your ease, and the Queen's service ; but I think you should not think of any embarkation ; for the expence, the uncertainty of success, and the little attention the enemy gave the last summer proves plainly that it will not make much diversion.

I do not say anything to you as to the steps which have been made for peace, since it will be time enough upon my arrival in England. At my return from the Hague, which is to be about the middle of this month, I shall hear more of the barrier. I have constantly assured them, that as to Ostend, they must have no thoughts. I believe this matter, as well as that of peace, must be transacted in England, which I hope the Queen will think for her service as well as for my ease, that the dispute that may arise may not fall singly on me.

I send by this post to Mr. Secretary Boyle a project I have sent to the Court of Berlin for six thousand men. I hope they will approve of it; but almost everybody is so selfish and unreasonable, that there is no answering for anything. I believe we must not reckon upon the Palatine troops we had the last year; for, notwithstanding the offers we have made, I hear one part of them are gone to take their winter quarters in the Upper Palatinate, which will be welcome news to the enemy, they knowing very well that those troops will give them no trouble till the month of July.

Before the departure of Prince Eugene, I did press him extremely for the contenting of the Duke of Savoy. Major General Palmes will have informed you how that matter stands; and my former letter will have acquainted you with what is expected from those parts. I have no reason to change my opinion, and the intelligence I have of the Elector

of Hanover gives no hopes, but of his being troublesome.

I hope the King of France is not truly informed of our circumstances ; but if he is, he will make his advantage this next campaign.

I hope by this time you have dispatched Mr. Palmes ; for he should be at Vienna, and indeed at Turin.

Pray assure Welligs that I have received his with great pleasure ; and am much his friend and servant.

LORD GODOLPHIN TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

Feb. 4-15, 1708-9.

The wind continuing still contrary, we are still without the satisfaction of hearing from you ; but believing the letters of this post may probably find you at the Hague, it may be necessary to acquaint you with a conversation Lord Somers tells me he has had with him you used to call the *wooden fellow* ;* and has indeed desired me to give you an account of it.

He says 3 (Lord Portland) tells him that the States were in very great uneasiness with you, and almost jealous of you, because you declined to enter into any discourse concerning the barrier for Holland, and that this was gone so far, that if you was not easier with them in that matter at your return, and more disposed to make them easy, they

* Lord Portland.

had in a manner taken a resolution of sending 60 (Buys) once more to England about that matter ; adding, that if you had no notion of this intention of the States, it must be because they had a mind to keep it from you till it was too late to be prevented.

My chief opinion upon all this is, that it would be extremely inconvenient to our affairs for Buys to come to England ; and by what I have written to you already upon that subject, if we continue to insist upon the rasing of Dunkirk, as I hope we always do, I then cannot see any reason why England and the States should have any difference about the town of Ostend ; for there cannot be afterwards any pretence of insecurity to Holland from that place, when their dangerous neighbours are removed from Dunkirk. And if this be a true state of that matter, there remains no more to bring this affair to a fair and friendly conclusion, but to agree that both nations should stand upon the same foot, as to their trade with the two countries, which they did before the war. This Lord Portland himself allows to be reasonable ; and as a great friend to both sides, seems to wish it were put into a method of being adjusted as soon as possible.

And, perhaps, this may be a useful preliminary to be settled on that side ; but Buys coming would hurt everything.

My pen and ink is so ill that I will not trouble you any farther.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO LORD
GODOLPHIN.

Brussels, Feb. 17th, 1709.

I shall leave this letter to come by the post of tomorrow, not being able to come time enough to write from the Hague. I have had the favour of yours of the 28th, and the 1st of this month. I am entirely of the opinion of Lord Somers, that it is very reasonable that the States should settle with England the preliminaries before they have any commerce with France, and shall behave myself agreeable to this opinion. But as this negociation is carried on not by public authority, but by private hands, I fear their curiosity may go further than what they would own to me. I hope for the satisfaction of being with you in a fortnight. I shall not say much on this subject till then ; only I fear the inclinations for peace at the Hague are greater than is believed in England.

I take Major General Cadogan with me, and shall intrust him with what may be necessary during my absence : for if any new person should be sent over, that may make an unnecessary jealousy. But if any real step should be made, that would be communicated by them to England, either by their envoy, or a new person, so that you on the place may judge and give your advice to her Majesty of what may be proper ; for I think the consequences are too considerable to be judged by any on this

side the water. I fear you entertain Major General Palmes too long in England.*

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

Feb. 21, 1709.

I received yesterday the favour of yours of the 20th, with Lord Stair's letter. I read it, though there is very little in it. By your saying nothing to me of the Duke of Hamilton, I fear you may have forgot to speak to him as I desired concerning Lieutenant General Meredith.

If Lord Sunderland's news-letter be true, I should hope the King of France were in earnest, and then there would be a peace, which upon all accounts I long for, being extremely weary of the life I am obliged to live, for my spirit is so broke, that I am become fit for nothing else but a lazy quiet life, which I prefer before all the pleasures of this world.

I forgot to speak to you and the Queen to know if it might not be proper for me to have power to open the packet that comes by the messenger from Mr. Stanyan, for what may concern the peace may be for her Majesty's service that I should know it as early as possible. If it be thought proper, Lord

* "I have pressed Lord Sunderland all I can to dispatch Palmes's instructions; but so much of his time is applied to caballing and Parliament meetings, that I can't obtain one meeting about this affair; which, however, I am sensible is so necessary, that it shall, if possibly, be done next week."—*Lord Godolphin to the Duke of Marlborough*, Feb. 7, 1709.

Sunderland should send me an order for the messenger by the first post.

* * * *

I shall be on board in less than an hour, the wind being to the west of the south.

LORD GODOLPHIN TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

Feb. 11-22, 1709.

Since my last I have had none of yours to acknowledge, but expect them every hour, the wind being easterly and very violent since Monday, which is extremely inconvenient ; for it keeps all our letters from meeting you at the Hague, as I find you wished they might have done ; and, consequently, I doubt the expectation of them will occasion your staying there longer than you intended.

But we must have patience. The committee of ways and means having agreed to the proposal of the bank, we reckon provision is made for 5,200,000*l.* of this year's supplies ; and though the estimates of the expence of this year amount to above one more, yet if we can get but half of it, I believe we must be content with it, and wind up the session as soon as we can, for many very good reasons.

There are many pretensions here to my Lord Charlemont's regiment: those who seem to think their own pretensions the finest are my Lord Islay, Sutton, and Colonel Honywood. There are twice as many for the vacancy in Lord Lothian's regi-

ment, his own son-in-law, a son of my Lord Dunmore, Mr. Montgomery, Abercromby, and a brother of my Lord Seafield's; all these importunities I prepare you for, not doubting but you have a great many more, that I never so much as heard of.

I believe it would be convenient that Maccartney's personal exchange might be agreed, if it could be separated from the general one, with the soonest; for the loss of Newfoundland has put us upon hastening a project for him, in which I think he is more useful than anybody that I know.

The Comte de Gallas has given a memorial by express order from the Court of Vienna, with demands of more assistance for the King of Spain, some of which seem to me to be very extravagant.

Major General Palmes is still kept here by the contrary winds.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

Hague, Feb. 22, 1709.

The wind is so very high and contrary, that I have no hopes of hearing from you during my stay here, which will be till Monday. It freezes now as hard as ever, which is a very great *contretems*.

I find generally the people here very much inclined to peace, and those who know the least talk the most. But by all that I can learn, nothing has been offered but in general terms, and that only tending to a partition treaty; so that we may be

assured of making the next campaign. I pray God it may answer your expectations in England.

If the men-of-war be at Ostend by the end of next week, I shall then take my measures of losing no time of being with you, and then I shall acquaint you with all I know of peace. I have been obliged to promise the Pensionary that I shall immediately return upon notice of the French drawing together, for they do believe the intelligence they have from France of their design of besieging Lille.

Not knowing whether you have had the particulars of the treaty with the Pope, I have, by this post, sent Mr. Secretary my letter from the Count de Prie ; and I now send for your perusal a long letter from the Comte de Wratislaw.

I am very glad to find by yours of the 30th, that Lord Islay has behaved himself so well, for his brother, the Duke of Argyle, has done the same this campaign, so that if her Majesty be easy in it, I should be glad that regiment were given to him before my return.

You have kept Palmes so long in England, and the wind being now contrary, that I do not expect to see him. If, at my return to Brussels, I hear of the men-of-war at Ostend, I shall leave a letter for him, that he may lose no time in going to Vienna, and from thence to Turin, where he ought to be to press that Prince to take the field early. The same thing should be pressed in Catalonia ; for if the enemy be suffered to act quietly the beginning of

the campaign in this country, and they are not at the same time pressed by our allies, I mean the Duke of Savoy and the Marshal de Staremberg, for from Portugal and the Rhine I expect nothing, though on the side of Alsace the French have very few troops, I am afraid this next summer you will see the French endeavour to play their old management of the last war, of obtaining a superiority by their efforts early in this country, and then making such detachments as may enable their other armies to act offensively in the months of September and October. If we receive the least affront this will happen.

My Lord Albemarle is informed that commissioners are appointed for the taking and stating of the late King's debts. He has desired me to beg your favour on this occasion.

I do not see by any of your letters, or by the votes of the House of Commons, that any care is taken of the debt to the Landgrave of Hesse, which you know the Queen was engaged to pay this year.

LORD GODOLPHIN TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

Friday Night, March 25—April 5, 1709.

I am very sorry you have had such wet weather for your journey to Deal, and much afraid the fair wind you set out with this morning will not hold long; however, I venture a letter to you by this night's packet, that if you have the good fortune to

get soon to the Hague, you may see I do not intend to lose any opportunity of writing to you.

My Lord Halifax told me this morning from the Duke of Newcastle, that Lord Thanet had refused to sign, till some new difficulty found out by his counsel should be first adjusted. He desired me to speak to the Duke of Newcastle about it, which I did, and his Grace promised me to use all his endeavours with my Lord Thanet to finish; and I have heard since from Mr. Dummer, that it is like to be agreed; but if the difficulty continues, I suppose he will acquaint you with it by this post.

When you hear anything particular from Dunkirk, I hope you will let us know it; though I can't be much alarmed at that matter, not thinking it possible they would lay an embargo only to give us warning, and then take it off again before they were in a readiness for their attempt.

I was told yesterday by Lord Powlett, that in case this noise should continue, it was buzzed about as if the Elector of Hanover would offer his service to the Queen upon that occasion.

I am not a competent judge whether the Elector of Hanover has in reality any such intentions; but I am sure I have no notion of what they can mean by it.

I find you have talked of what I said to you about the carriage of Lord Dartmouth; for to-day I was told by a friend of his, that he was in great concern to hear that I was not pleased with him.

We are got one step farther in the Scotch Treason Bill; but if at last it does go through both Houses, I believe it will not be without a good deal of difficulty.

I will give you now no more trouble, but to wish we may quickly hear you are well at the Hague.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

Hague, May 5, 1709.

Since my arrival here I have received the favour of yours by Collins, as also that of the 20th.

I do with all my heart lament the many things you have to struggle withal; it is that and some things I take unkindly, that has brought me to the resolution I have taken.

I shall do all I can, so that if the wind be fair, I may leave this place next Sunday; but I very much fear that my presence will not be of that use you think. I am sure my heart shall be entirely yours, and you shall govern me in anything that may contribute to your ease.

I have already acquainted the Prince of Frieze that the Queen's sore eyes was the reason of his not receiving an answer, her Majesty being desirous of writing with her own hand; but as I fear he will not be here till I am gone, you will do well to let Monsieur Vinberg know the reason.

I should think you would do well to acquaint Lady Sunderland with the behaviour of Lord Sunderland, for she has more power than I have over

him ; for my own part, I think his behaviour unaccountable. I hope to be so soon with you, that I shall in this letter give you no further trouble.

WILLIAM PENN. TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

May 3, 1709.

Noble Friend,

Thy best friends have been in some pain for thy quick and agreeable passage, which they now conclude, because they have no news yet from thee.

It is by no means pleasing that the Duke chooses the field before the cabinet, since the enemies are so much abler there than in the field, and that the Duke, without flattery, is equally able in both; and as he has nobody of his size in the field, so nobody can be better furnished for the cabinet. And that so great a General should victoriously forward a peace, is certainly a great addition to his character, it being as wise as brave, and I think Christian too.

I have inclosed to the Duke my novel about peace; it is no more than Henry the Fourth designed, and the States of Holland have proved practicable, and therefore not chimerical.

For America, I hope in a post or two, under my Lady Duchess's cover, to send in a paper a few particulars that may be worth our poor country a million of money yearly for ought I know. Lord

* The celebrated Quaker, and colonizer of Pennsylvania.

Treasurer has not seen it, whose correct judgment I would be glad to have upon it; I add no more but that I am with great sincerity and respect,

Thy faithful friend,

WM. PENN.

WILLIAM PENN TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

Bristol, May 22, 1709.

My Noble Friend,

I hope my last came time enough for the peace, especially, since all our news made us believe there would be none this year, but to-day's prints speaking so very favourably of it, I send this in reference to our north bounds in America.

The English empire on the Continent lies upon the south side, and we claim to the north side of Hudson's Bay; but I should be glad that our north bounds might be expressed and allowed to the south side of St. Lawrence's River, that feeds Canada eastwards and comes from the lakes westward, which will make a glorious end from those lakes due west to the river of Mississippi, and traverse that river to the extreme bounds of the Continent westwards, whereby we may secure a thousand miles of that river down the Bay of Mexico, and that the French demolish, or at least quit, all their settlements within the bounds aforesaid.

The Duke may find at any noted stationer's in Holland or Flanders the map of North America, and see how St. Lawrence River runs east and west

through the length of the Continent, and that of Mississippi, which lies 2000 miles across the Continent, north and south, for without such a settlement of our American boundaries, we shall be in hazard of being dangerously surprised by the French, and their Indians especially, if they send but twelve ships to attack by sea. I humbly refer it all to the Duke's English heart and head, to secure to his country so great an one, and of that value on many accounts, and no more I think than we have a real claim to—forgive the roughness: a general assembly of people from the countries about this city so fill one with company and business, I cannot send it in a better dress. God speed the plough; allow me thy good opinion, and believe me to be with great respect,

Thy obliged and faithful friend,

WM. PENN.

LORD GODOLPHIN TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

May 24, 1709.

The delivering up of Spain to King Charles the Third in pursuance of your treaty, as it is a matter of the greatest consequence, so perhaps it may prove of more difficulty and delay than the treaty seems to suppose; and therefore, we have thought it advisable here to take all possible measures for procuring the town of Cadiz to declare for King Charles immediately; and in order to this you will have an account from my Lord Sunderland by this post, of the

directions sent to Sir George Byng and to Mr. Stanhope, which you are to forward, in case the treaty be signed, or otherwise to detain it in your hands.

The article of Newfoundland is extremely pleasing here ; and it would be a great addition to that satisfaction, if you would get the French Plenipotentiaries to write to their court for orders to be sent for the delivering up that country, and particularly the forts of St. John's and Placentia, to those whom her Majesty shall appoint to take the possession for her.

I have the favour of yours of the 21st, and have given Medina's paper inclosed in it, to be compared with the other which you sent me from Margate ; I will take care to satisfy him as soon as I can.

I find by yours, that Lord Raby is very pressing, but shall take no farther notice of it, unless I hear again from you, after he has explained himself to Mr. de Cardonnell.

My Lord Steward moved this morning, at the Cabinet Council, that when the Marshal de Tallard has leave to return home, as is requested by Monsieur de Torcy, the same favour might be granted by France to the Marquis de Leganzy. I think if the French should refuse this, it would be a great mark of their insincerity, when they promise to give up Spain.

I am a little surprised at what you write of the Marshal de Villars having drawn twenty-six thousand men together at La Bassée ; the character

of the man makes it not impossible for him to play the fool. I hope we shall not have the second part of what passed in Portugal.

My Lord Wharton has sent over Sir John Witheringhither, with a commission to raise a new regiment.

I have told him it would be disbanded before it could be complete, but that does not satisfy.

DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

Hague, May 25th, 1709.

I have stopped the post for one day, in hopes we might have been able to have sent the project of preliminaries, which, in effect, is the peace, but since the unhappy action of Portugal, they are more captious on the expression in many articles; however, I believe we shall have finished by Monday, and then Lord Townshend and I shall let Mr. Secretary have our observations, so that no time may be lost in receiving her Majesty's commands.

I cannot say enough of the pleasure I have in the company and assistance of Lord Townshend. Prince Eugene goes from hence to-morrow; my stay will depend on the manner we shall finish with Monsieur de Torcy. I have this minute had the favour of yours of the 10th, by which I see you had not received any of mine. The Count de Zinzendorff has been here these two days, and was this morning admitted to the conference, where none but those of the great alliance have been as yet.

May 27th.

Finding this letter not gone when I came from the conference of Saturday night, Lord Townshend and I thought it very proper to stop the letter, by the difficulties we found in the conference by reason of the Dutch having inserted several articles concerning their barrier, which Prince Eugene and Count Zinzendorff declared they could not agree to, so that we separated that night in some anger; but I thank God we are now agreed as to that article, so that we have now only to struggle with the difficulties of Monsieur de Torcy, who seems to be very desirous of gaining time, which is hard to avoid, by his declaring positively that he has not power to agree to several articles we insist upon, so that I believe we shall, for the saving of time, sign and give them till the 4th of June, N. S., which is as soon as we can possibly get into the field, so that hitherto we have lost no time.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

Hague, May 31st, 1709.

Having had no answer to any of our letters, we are very impatient of hearing from you. It is not to be expressed the joy these people have, not doubting that the peace is sure.

Medina has been with me with dismal complaints, that when the enclosed paper is allowed, he shall be still a loser of above five thousand pounds by the last campaign. You must compare the enclosed

with that which I sent you from Margate, for I kept no copy of it. I beg you will let me know in what manner you can pay him, for he is really running mad, having this year taken upon him to furnish the Dutch army as well as the English, by which he may be undone, for he now pays four times as much for the corn as formerly.

Mr. de Cardonnel tells me that Lord Raby is so very desirous of having his name in the treaty of peace,* that he will be contented to stay at Berlin, and consequently have no equipage money. I have bid him (de Cardonnel) write to him, so that he may explain himself, and if it cost the Queen nothing, he being the only ambassador, I think his name should be inserted, though he is a very coxcomb.

* Remarks by the Duchess of Marlborough on the envelope of a letter from Lord Raby to the Duke, congratulating him on the conclusion of peace, June 1, 1709.

“The peace which my Lord Raby calls so glorious, and which was so near made, would certainly have been finished, had not my Lord Oxford, and those that assisted him in doing so much mischief, thought it too good; and for that reason they encouraged France to hold out, which appeared by a thousand things to those that knew the secrets of those times; and, at the same time that they prevented this peace, they imposed upon many in making them believe the Duke of Marlborough had a design to continue the war for ever for his own advantage, who had really more interest in making an end of it and was fonder of doing it than anybody, for ten thousand reasons. But if he had made a peace that was not to be justified, though it had been twenty times better than what the Queen by the wicked counsellors made, they would have tore the Duke of Marlborough to pieces for that, as they designed to do if he had quitted her service, though they did all that was possible to make him do it, and when that barbarity did not succeed, they turned him out.”

Lord Lexington was added the last peace to the commission, and had orders not to come to the Hague, and I own to you that when neither the Queen nor public receives prejudice by it, I should be glad to make everybody happy.

The Prince of Savoy left this place yesterday, and will be at Brussels this evening, which I am very glad of, for our letters of this day let us know that the Marshal de Villars has formed a camp at La Bassée, of 25,000 men.

I hope Mr. Walpole may be able to bring the ratification of the preliminaries by the end of next week, for by that time I must be going to Flanders.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

Hague, June 7, 1709.

You will see, by what we send to Mr. Secretary, the reasons the King of France gives for not ratifying the preliminaries. If his condition be such as we believe, he will be forced to comply, especially if these people continue in the resolution they now are in. I shall go from hence to-morrow night or the next morning, in order to join the army next Wednesday, which is the time appointed for their meeting. God knows how we shall make the army subsist, the weather having been so bad, that nothing grows. The Marshal de Villars has given his advice to the King for adventuring a battle. There is no doubt a battle in the plains of Lens would put

an end to this war ; but if that should happen, and God Almighty, as hitherto, bless with success the arms of the allies, I think the Queen should then have the honour of insisting upon putting the French government upon their being governed by the Three Estates, which I think is more likely to give quiet to Christendom than the tearing provinces from them for the enriching of others.

You may be sure that Lord Townshend and I have done, and shall always do, what is in our power for the Duke of Savoy's interest ; but I cannot but think their ministers are to blame if they are not pleased ; but these here begin to be satisfied that we have done our best.

The Pensioner sends me word this minute, it being ten o'clock at night, that Monsieur de Rouillée has been with him, so that he desires I would stop the post till to-morrow, in order that I might have an account of what had passed.

June 8th.

You will see, by the account to Mr. Secretary, what has passed last night and this day. Monsieur de Rouillée has this evening despatched a courier, in order to give notice of his leaving this place to-morrow. If the King of France will agree, I suppose he will receive orders on the road to return. You will see, by the accounts we send, that everybody here has been as firm as we can desire ; but if the French should be resolute, we may then expect

a good deal of ill-humours from those that long for peace.

I believe Monsieur de Rouillée knows by Petit-homme, his agent, that if the King his master offers some cautionary towns, till he can put King Charles in possession of Spain and the Indies, that it will be accepted.

The Pensioner has obliged me to stay till to-morrow in the afternoon, there being in the morning a congress of all the ministers, so that we shall acquaint them with all that has passed, and exhort them to write to their masters for the prosecuting the war with vigour; all this is done that France may see we are in earnest.

I send you enclosed a letter I received yesterday from Lord Raby, in which you will see the inserting his name will be no expense to her Majesty. The first part of his letter is only compliments to me.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE EARL OF
SUNDERLAND.

Hague, June 7, 1709.

My Lord,

Since my last, I am to thank you for two very obliging letters, and I do assure you that you can't give your kindness to anybody that esteems it more, and shall always *endeavour to deserve it*.

You will see, by what we send to Mr. Secretary, the difficulties the King of France makes to the ratifying the preliminaries. I can't but be of opinion,


though Monsieur de Rouillée should return without agreeing to anything, the preliminaries will be agreed to before the end of this *month*. I have desired to be informed of the date of Montander's commission, for I very well remember, when he was made Major General, it was to the prejudice of some English officers. As he is a Frenchman, and not having been very lucky, if his commission should be of a younger date than some others, it may make a noise. But whatever is the Queen's pleasure, I shall endeavour to make it easy. My Lord Galway has writ to me in favour of Lord Barrymore, and, by the date of his commission, he should be a Major General.

The army is to assemble the 12th, so that I shall leave this place to-morrow night, or the next morning, so that my next will be from Flanders; and, as you will see by the enclosed paper, if the Marshal de Villars can govern, we must have a battle before the peace.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

Rotterdam, June 9, 1709.

You will find, by your letters of yesterday, that Monsieur de Rouillée was to leave the Hague as this day, which he did at seven o'clock in the morning. He sent last night to Versailles, as we believe, in hopes to receive orders at his arrival at Mons, with power to offer cautionary towns till the evacuation of Spain and the Indies. Time is precious,



so that if the Queen would be pleased to order Mr. Secretary, by the next post, to let Lord Townshend know that he should comply with what the Emperor's minister and the States General shall agree to be for the public good. I have sent Thornbury, the messenger, to the Hague, to stay there for some days, till we see how this negotiation is like to end. If Monsieur de Rouillée is to be believed, the King his master will venture his kingdom rather than sign the treaty, with the thirty-first article as it is ; however, I am persuaded they will find something to offer to which we shall agree.

I shall be with the army on the 12th ; but the account we have concerning the forage is so terrible, that I fear *that* much more than the Marshal de Villars's gasconading. Though we want two imperial regiments of horse, which are kept to serve on the Rhine ; the Palatine's, consisting of fifteen squadrons and eight battalions, are also not come ; however, our army will consist of two hundred and forty-five squadrons and one hundred and fifty-two battalions. I pray God to bless us, and then we have nothing to fear. This being two days before the post, I shall give you no further trouble ; if anything new should happen, you will have it from Lord Townshend.

LORD GODOLPHIN TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

Tuesday, June 7, 1709.

I have troubled you so much of late, that you will

be afraid of seeing the outside of a letter from me. Sunday I wrote to you by Colonel Honywood,—last night by the way of Ostend, and therefore it will not be necessary to repeat anything in this letter of what I said last night.

The Court of France seems to give itself great airs of *fierté*; but I don't find the oppressions and miseries of their kingdom are like to have much relief by that; but their general complaints will soon be revived with more violence than ever.

I am sorry the backwardness of the season hinders your army from being in motion so soon as were to be wished, and I am in great hopes, by what we hear from Italy, that your endeavours will be very well seconded by the Duke of Savoy, on the side of Dauphiné.

It is very disagreeable to think the French will ruin all the forage wherever they think you can come; but if you have a possibility of marching anywhere near the sea-coast, I believe we might be able to furnish you with bread for your whole army. You will judge best whether this notion can be of any use to you. I have written more fully of it in my former letters. We are just sending out Rear Admiral Baker, with his squadron and seven regiments of foot to the straights for the service of Spain; and my Lord Sunderland will write this night to Mr. Stanhope, to acquaint him with it, and send orders to the Hague, for the messenger

who is now there, to go on to Barcelona with these despatches.

Count Gallas tells us that, by fresh letters from thence, he is informed a squadron of our ships were preparing to go to Sicily. That would have been useless if the treaty had proceeded, and even as things stand, I think that squadron might be more serviceable upon the coast of Spain.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

Ghent, June 13, 1709.

Since my last I had the favour of yours of the 24th, and at the same time a letter from Lord Sunderland by the express that should have gone for Spain; but as the treaty is broke off upon the difficulties of delivering that kingdom, I thought it for the service to stop him for some time; for if we do not hear in two or three days from Monsieur de Rouillée, I believe we may depend upon making this campaign. God knows what is best, but we are like to meet with great difficulties as to forage. There has been so much rain that this morning all the general-officers were of opinion that we must not march forward till we had first three or four days' sunshine, so that the ground might be a little dried, there being no straw in the country for the poor men to lie upon, so that should we now march, one half of the foot might in less than ten days be in the hospitals.

We make use of this delay in sending up the Lys all that may be necessary for a siege ; for when we shall get to the plains of Lens, we must have a battle or a siege, the greatest difficulty of the latter will be the want of forage.

As Lord Townshend will inform you of all that passes at the Hague, I shall by this post give you no further trouble.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

Ghent, June 13, 1709.

My Lord Townshend will acquaint you with what passes at the Hague. If the preparations and resolutions of France be as we are informed, I fear it will not be long before the States will wish they had given the King of France the satisfaction of explaining the 31st article.

It is impossible for me to express the apprehensions I have, as well as most of the general-officers, that we shall not find wherewithal to make the army subsist, especially if we enter France. So it were to be wished the peace had been agreed ; but what I write in this paper I desire may never be known to any but the Queen.

74 (Lord Raby) is contented to be in the commission, and as Lord Lexington did, he must not sign, but stay where he is. I know him to be a very meddling, worthless, insignificant creature ; but

since he is the only one that has the title of ambassador, he should in justice be named.

LORD GODOLPHIN TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

June 14, 1709.

My letter of yesterday, which you will receive at the same time with this, was so long, that I shall now give you the trouble only of telling you what care has been taken to stop the corn for France.

Sir John Norris is sent to the Sound as the most proper station to intercept it from the Baltic; Sir John Leake is going to supply his place before Dunkirk, and my Lord Dursley's squadron of seven ships cruises in the sounding to protect our own trade, and to lie in their way in case they come north about. Orders are also sent to Sir George Byng in the Mediterranean for some ships to cruise betwixt the parts of Barbary and the south of France.

This seems to be as much as is possible for us to do here in this matter. I hope the Dutch will send ships also to the northward, and serve to watch the other channel of Dunkirk, ours not being able to do both.

And I wish all the rest of the allies would be as diligent and zealous in their efforts by land; but I don't find the Elector of Hanover is yet moved towards the Rhine, nor, which is more material, do

our letters from Turin by yesterday's post give any comfortable accounts of their forwardness on that side. I don't know whether you will not think proper to touch something of this to Count Maffei: his master has already received a great deal of money from the Queen for this year's extraordinaries, besides the regular subsidy; and it is not reasonable, whenever he thinks fit to be out of humour with the Court of Vienna, that her Majesty's great charge and pains must be thrown away, who shows so much concern for him, and takes so much care of his interests everywhere.

I am afraid you will think our troops going to Spain are not like to be of much service there. While we had hope of getting it by treaty, there was no thought of doing it; but I don't see how it can be now avoided, since the French lay so much stress upon the keeping of Spain, and the Parliament has given the money for those regiments, in order to reduce it.

LORD GODOLPHIN TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

June 15, 1709.

I have the favour of yours of the 9th from Rotterdam in your way to the army, where I hope you will find everything in a better forwardness than you seem to expect, and that God Almighty will continue to bless your endeavours and preserve your person as he has hitherto done.

Upon the arrival of the foreign letters to-day, it is a great satisfaction to find the Duke of Savoy is preparing to take the field immediately, and the Court of Vienna, having gone great lengths towards his satisfaction, we have good ground to hope he will make the campaign cheerfully and vigorously.

We are chiefly concerned here at present with the fear that Rouillée will return and offer cautionary towns, which can have no other effect than still to amuse and renew a negotiation, which seems to be well ended in one respect, since there seems to be more spirit and union among the allies than at any time before ; and, indeed, I don't wonder at it, since the insincerity and trickery of France about Spain is so detected and so plain, that there seems to be an absolute necessity upon the allies to resent it. But I don't know why I give you much trouble upon this head, since Mr. Secretary will send you the copy of this letter to Lord Townshend in answer to my Lord's letter to him of the 11th, received this day. The weather has been delicious yesterday and to-day. I hope you will have both the satisfaction and advantage of it.

I writ you a long letter yesterday by the way of Ostend, though I remember you used to chide me for it last year ; but I still fancy it must needs come to you a day or two sooner than by Holland.

Our American expedition must now be at an end ; and the troops designed for it being part of the

establishment for Spain, must either be sent thither directly, or else employed, as I hinted in my letter of yesterday by Ostend, for reducing of Spain by pressing France.

I received this morning the enclosed for you, from Lady Marlborough, who I hear intends to be to-morrow night at Windsor Lodge ; but she does not let me know when she designs to be in town.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

Abbey of Looz, June 24, 1709.

Since my last I have none of yours, nor nothing new has happened here except the endorsed letter of the King of France, which came the day before yesterday from Paris. By this letter as well as by all the motions they make, we may be assured that they have taken their measures for the making of this campaign. Where they are now posted they are so strongly entrenched that I believe it will not be thought advisable to attack their entrenchments ; but no resolution is yet taken. The Prince of Savoy and the deputies dine with me to-day ; and about five in the afternoon we expect the return of Monsieur Dopff and Cadogan, that marched at break of day with a strong detachment to visit the country for our next camp. It is not to be imagined the misery the poor country people are in, and as all the wheat is killed everywhere that we have yet seen or hear of, I know not how we

shall be able to keep the field in the month of October ; as the enemy must struggle with the same difficulty, we must endeavour to do our best, and our first thoughts must be to oblige them to march from their present camp. The Elector of Bavaria is yet at Mons, so that the whole is commanded by Marshal de Villars.

I thank God we have now very good weather, and I hope it may continue, so that it may recompense us for the very bad, weather which we have had. which has already occasioned sickness ; for there is no straw in the country, so that the poor men have been obliged to be on the wet ground.

You know I am not desirous of giving the Queen any trouble with this sort of people ; but the Marshal de Villars sending me yesterday the endorsed from Lady Sophia Buckley, I send it, that you may take your time of reading it to her Majesty, so that I may know what answer to make. If it be true what she says, in justice some care should be taken for the money. She means Mr. Whitlock.

LORD GODOLPHIN TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

June 24, Midsummer-day, 1709.

I writ to you yesterday by Mr. Macky, and by the way of Ostend, in order to a settlement of that

correspondence for the future, which I hope you will find very useful.

I returned to you Lady S. B.'s letter, with the answer which the Queen thought proper for you to make, which, by the style of her letter, one may easily judge is not like to be very pleasing, especially if she has taken the pains to begin her journey to Brussels. But it is so impossible in our circumstances to give any other answer, that it would not be very convenient to have it known even that there was such a request.

I find by Mr. Walpole, that you send over the English prisoners taken at Almanza, which I am sorry for, because they are very good men, and might be useful to you ; and I can never think all your regiments are so full as not to have room for them, nor is it reasonable to give those men to the Colonels of those regiments here, who have had all the levy money to complete their regiments, as if there were no such men in the world.

It appearing by our fresh letters, that the Pretender is come to the Marshal de Villars's army, it will be necessary to watch the port of Dunkirk very particularly ; and I hope therefore you will order Mr. Cadogan to renew his correspondence in that place, that so we may have timely notice of the enemy's designs ; for in case they should really think of an attempt at this time, we have not near so many ships at hand now as upon the last attempt, nor have we more regiments at home than are just

necessary to shut the gates, but those three which Monsieur Vryberg presses for very much to be sent over to you as necessary to complete the Queen's part of the augmentation. But I hope this is not necessary, having never heard anything like it from you.

I wish very much you may have quick success at Tournay ; but I hope you will not think it necessary to send an express with the news, our exchequer being very low at present ; as the extraordinary number of the poor Palatines which come over every day are a very great burthen upon the Queen.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

Villeavean, June 27, 1709.

The bringing our battering canon to Menin has had the success we wished, for the French take it for granted that we intended the siege of Ypres, and accordingly put sixteen battalions in that place, and drew ten battalions from Tournay, so that we marched last night, and this day, by twelve of the clock, the town was invested. And as they have not above half the troops in the town they ought to have for a vigorous defence, we intend to attack the town and citadel at the same time.

Not only Prince Eugene and myself, but everybody was unanimously of the opinion that it was too hazardous to attack the enemy in their camp en-

trenched as it now is. We cannot have our canon brought to us by the Scheldt in less than ten days, but when we have them once on our batteries, I believe it will go very quick. We hope the taking of this town will not only be of great use to us if the war continues, but make also the operations of this campaign much more uneasy to the Marshal de Villars.

LORD GODOLPHIN TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

June 27, 1709.

Though it be uncomfortable enough to continue writing while these stormy contrary winds hinder us of the satisfaction of hearing from you, yet believing you are not like to have a time of more leisure during the whole campaign for reading my letters, I shall venture to add to what I had written yesterday, that as it is the humour and natural temper of our people to be but too much elated with their prosperity, so they are full as apt to run into the other extreme upon the least disappointment of their expectations, though never so unreasonable. An instance of this, which one meets almost every day, is that because they had persuaded themselves, in case the French camp could not be attacked, our army was immediately to march into France, they were not at all satisfied with the besieging of Tournay, though the casual weakening

of that garrison made it the most reasonable thing that could be done.

This is carried so far, that what I writ to you of about a month ago of sending bread for the army by sea, is now become every man's thought and talk, a pattern of which you may see in the inclosed letter to my Lord Chancellor, who told me it was from his own chaplain, who it seems had occasion to visit the sea coast of Kent.

By all our late letters from Ireland, I doubt the session of Parliament there is not like to end so well, as one had reason to think from the beginning of it.

Lord Wharton seems to apply himself more to making his court in that country than to please his old friends. In this Somers and Sunderland are not at all shy at shewing their dissatisfaction at his conduct ; whether it be really because it is not in itself without blame, or because they are not unwilling to lay hold of the opportunity, I shall not take upon me to say ; but I incline to think there may be a mixture of both in the present case.

The Queen has fixed next Thursday for her going to Windsor for the rest of this summer.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

July 1, 1709.

Since my last I have had the favour of five of yours, for which I return you many thanks. As to

the provisions by sea, which you were so kind as to mention in some of yours, I did in my former letters let you know it would be of great use when we might be able to get to Abbeville.

This siege is of very great consequence if the war is to continue, so that I do not doubt but Monsieur de Villars will do his utmost to force his troops into it. One thousand dragoons came last night to attempt it, but their heart failed them. This place certainly is the best fortified of any in this country, but as we have surprised them with not above half the garrison they should have, I hope we shall succeed at a much cheaper rate than last year at Lisle ; and if we can take it in any seasonable time, you may depend upon it, with the blessing of God, we shall make a very good campaign.

I am of the opinion that you do extremely well in encouraging the war in Spain, but I fear the regiments you send will be of very little use this year ; but I own to you, that I can see no good reason for your complying with the desire of Lord Galway, in the raising of six regiments of dragoons in Portugal, which can never be depended upon, nor of any use but for the subsisting of a few French officers ; nor I believe it was never heard of before, to be at the expence of raising new troops at the end of a war.

Whatever may be pretended, you will find this will cost you a great sum of money ; and when they are on foot, you will be told that they cannot subsist

on English pay ; if one half of this money had been employed in hiring old troops, that might have been of use ; and you may depend on it that the Portuguese have been too often in this war to do anything that may be vigorous.

The Marshal de Villars not having as yet marched from his entrenched camp, we can make no judgment of what he intends ; but we flatter ourselves that this siege has disconcerted his measures, they having provided their magazines towards the sea coast, being persuaded that we should open the campaign by the siege of Ypres. The French letters from Paris of the 24th of the last month, say that orders are given for the marching all the French troops from Spain ; I have not faith enough to believe this, since it is very certain, that those troops cannot come in any reasonable time to the Rhine, nor in this country to do service this campaign ; and in Dauphiné there is so great a scarcity of provision that I should not think they would send them there ; a very little time will let us see the truth.

I must beg you will give my duty to the Queen, and desire of her that she would be pleased to order a commission of Brigadier for the Earl of Orrery, he being the eldest colonel, and a man of quality.

If it can be done without much expence, I shall endeavour to settle a post between Ostend and the

army, but the letters by that way are very uncertain as well by sea as land.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

July 4, 1709.

I received yesterday the favour of yours of the 17th of the last month, and hope it will turn to good account, the care her Majesty has taken for the preventing of corn going to France. Hitherto Monsieur de Villars does not shew any inclinations for quitting his camp, but contents himself with sending several parties, consisting of three and four thousand each, to visit all our posts in hopes of having success on some of them, or of getting some of them into the town, which we hope to prevent, our lines being near finished, on one side of the town, and in three days more we hope to finish the whole. We having notice this afternoon of his having sent ten thousand men to attack seven hundred we have posted at Warinton for the security of the Lys, we have sent two thousand men to strengthen that post, which we hope will come in time for their relief. The great part of our canon is come to Anduar, and on the sixth we intend to open the trenches at three attacks, two on the town, and the third on the citadel.

It grieves my heart to see the sad condition all the poor country people are in for want of bread ;

they have not the same countenances they had in other years.

Our letters from Paris confirm the withdrawing the French troops from Spain; till I see them in France I cannot think it real.

You know I endeavour not to meddle with Scotch affairs, but I can't refuse Lieutenant-General Ross to name his brother; I desire only to know what I may say to him. He would fain have him *Custos Rotulorum* for the county of Ross.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

July 8th, 1709.

I have had the favour of yours of the 19th, which came by the post of the 21st. I shall be very uneasy till I hear you are well. What you mention in the latter part of your letter, I am very sorry for, since a preparation for the next year's campaign is what must bring France to reason, if they can, which as yet I doubt, be able to overcome the difficulties we shall oblige them to undergo this campaign. They are already obliged to take by force the little corn the poor country people have for their subsistence. We shall now, in a very few days, see what measures the Marshal de Villars will take, the troops from the Rhine being come to this frontier. It is said they will

form an army in Brabant; if they do we shall be obliged to do the same. Our troops under the command of Lieutenant General Wilks came time enough for the supporting of Connings and Pontenrouge, but that of Warinton surrendered themselves prisoners of war; upon the approach of our troops the French retired.

You will hear that De Rock, our chief engineer, has broke his leg; however, we opened the trenches last night with little or no loss, the enemy not perceiving us till near daylight, so that our men were covered, we having 2500 workmen at each attack.

I have received a very pressing letter from Medina; it is in so bad English, I do not send it, since it would but trouble you. I have directed Cardonnell to write to Medina at the Hague, that he might instruct his son with the vouchers Mr. Lowndes desires by his letter, which Mr. Cardonnell shall answer by this post. Old Medina showed them to me before I sent over the account; he had other pretensions, which are not demanded, his vouchers not being sufficient. I should not trouble you thus much, but that I am really convinced that the account is just, and that these people must be very great sufferers this campaign. The 50,000 pounds mentioned by Mr. Lowndes will be much more than the demands for forage waggons, and all the other extraordinaries for the last campaign;

for the 10,000 pounds that was advanced by Mr. Cartwright the last winter to the Imperial troops, I shall get it repaid, which will be so much money saved.

LORD GODOLPHIN TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

Windsor, July 4-15, 1709.

I received the favour of yours of the 1st, 4th, and 8th of July, before I came from London, but had not time to thank you for them till this post. I am glad to find you continue to have so hopeful an opinion of the siege of Tournay. People were a good deal prejudiced against it here, but if it succeeds in any reasonable time, that will wear off, and we shall be as sanguine as ever, which is but necessary, for unless our credit be not only supported, but even augmented by success abroad, our provision in parliament for the expence of the present year, will fall short before the end of it, by at least 1,200,000*l.* sterling. Now, as to the prospect of success abroad, I hope it is good in Flanders, and would certainly be better, but that the Duke of Savoy uses us like children, as you will see by Mr. Palmes's letters, who, I make no doubt, gives you the same accounts as he does to us here.

Is it reasonable, that for every little quarrel and peevishness with the court of Vienna, he should disappoint all the just expectations of the Queen and the States, after what they have done for him,

and the very great expences they have been at, to put him into a condition of distressing France on that side; and now the opportunity of doing it is even more favourable than himself could have hoped, he is pleased to be sullen, and not to make use of it? France must needs know this temper of his, and they make their detachments accordingly from Alsace to Flanders; and the best construction that can be put upon this behaviour is, that he has a mind to protract the war at other people's expence, and thinks he shall find his account in it. We are here very sensible of this usage, and have spoken very broad to his minister upon it, and I think it would be right for you to do the same to Count Maffei.

Mr. Secretary Boyle will, by this post, send you word of what he has orders to write to Lord Townshend upon this subject, desiring him to get orders sent to the minister of the States at Turin to join with Mr. Palmes there, in representing to that Court, the great uneasiness both of the Queen and the States, at the Duke of Savoy's proceedings, which I hope will have a good effect. I am sure it ought to have it, both for the reason of the thing, and for his own interest, the stronger motive of the two.

As for Spain, Mr. Craggs will have given you an account how things stood there when he left it; but Sir John Jennings' arrival there has so changed and mended all those matters, that if we could have

fair winds to carry our fleet and troops from hence in any time, we might have reason to hope for a good account from that side of the world, especially if your news holds of the French having withdrawn their troops. From Portugal, I agree with you, that we have nothing to expect of advantage, and consequently ought not to be at any more expence than is necessary to keep those people in our alliance, which is so necessary for our trade; and by my Lord Galway's last letters from thence, of which I will desire my Lord Sunderland to send you a copy, he seems fully of the same opinion.

I shall take care of your commands in relation to Medina and the Comte de Velez's letter. I have spoken to the Queen of what you desire for the Earl of Orrery, though I don't well know how you come to desire it. She will give her commands to Mr. Walpole in that matter, as soon as she sees him.

Designing to go to-morrow for two or three days into Wiltshire, you are not like to be troubled with any letter from me by the next post. The truth is, this is sufficient for two or three posts.

In the hand of the Duchess.—This letter was writ by Lord Treasurer before he went from Windsor; I have sent your packet of the 10th of July after him to Salisbury, where he is gone to see his horses.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

July 18th, 1709.

I shall write to you by this night's post by Holland, which I think may be as soon with you as this by Mr. Craggs. I find by him and Mr. Stanhope, that they have no great opinion of the King of Spain's gratitude to the Queen and England for the great expences they have been at. I am apt to believe they may have reason, but the circumstances of the King of Spain are such, that his interest will always oblige him to endeavour to be well with the Queen. So that this proposal, which is now sent by 202 (Mr. Craggs), if it be thought good for England, he must comply with it, though I believe you will find the Count de Gallas make difficulties.

By a letter I have received from 62 (the Pensioner) I see he is of opinion that we certainly shall have peace this winter, if the necessities augment in France, as we are assured they must be necessitated to comply with our demands, otherwise I own to you I do not like 62 insisting upon the leaving out the article in the project of the barrier for the entire monarchy of Spain, and I hope the Queen will not comply with so unreasonable a desire; for King Charles would have just reason to take such a compliance as a neglect of his interest, nor do I believe the Parliament would approve of such a condescension. I have written to the Pensioner as

you desired for ships to be before Dunkirk ; but I do not expect it should have any success, since they are persuaded that if the French are able to put any ships to sea, they will be employed for the bringing of corn.

I see by your last letters the reasons for your apprehending a descent in Scotland ; but the circumstances of France are such, that you are in less danger of being attacked this summer than at any time when you have a peace. Besides I have a man there that will give early notice if they make any preparations, so that I am confident you may be at ease.

I enclose the King of Spain's letter, by which you will see that he does not entirely admit of my excusing myself from the acceptance of this government. As I would not make any answer before I have the Queen's leave, so I conjure you as a friend with all duty to represent it so to her Majesty, that my resolutions are such that I cannot accept of this government. Besides, should I continue in so great a station, it might give an opportunity to my enemies to be censuring my actions, which, with the Queen's leave, I shall endeavour for the rest of my life to avoid by not meddling in any public business, but where her personal concern may require it.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

July 25th, 1709.

I have received the favour of yours from Tilsit of the 6th. The great quantity of waters which this garrison are masters of, gives us great trouble now that we should pass the fosse, so that our being masters of the town is retarded for some days.

The Marshal de Villars having received his reinforcement from Germany, has made a march towards Valenciennes, in order to cover that place, and to give some hopes to Tournay, as if he had thoughts of relieving them. It is believed here, that if the Elector of Hanover will act as soon as he joins the army on the Rhine, that the French will be obliged to send some troops from hence, but I do not flatter myself with such hopes, believing the enemy does not much value what can be done on that side. Besides, they cannot but see the little intention there is of acting with vigour, since we are now at the end of July, and the army there has made no motion, though they are three times as strong as the enemy.

I received yesterday, by express, the enclosed from the Pensioner. The object he mentions is the marching four or five thousand men into Franche Comté, where the Emperor has had intelligence for some years, and Prince Eugene is persuaded that it will succeed. I am of the Pensioner's opinion, that care must be taken not to let any part of this

money be employed for any other use than that of the Franche Comté, so that I propose to him that the money should be lodged in such hands as should be named by her Majesty and the States. Whatever we can do for the strengthening the Duke of Lorraine is certainly right, for that is the barrier we ought to have on that side of France, but I apprehend the States will not so heartily engage as they ought, for they will not make any step that may make the negotiation of peace more difficult, at least these are my apprehensions.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE EARL OF
SUNDERLAND.

July the 26th, 1709.

I have had the favour of yours of the 5th, with the copy of Lord Galway's letter of the 24th of the last month. I think his reasoning is very just. I am also of opinion with you, that the disturbances in France give a great occasion to the Duke of Savoy of doing good to his personal interest as well as to the public. As he is a Prince that knows very well what he does, I may own to you, that it gives me very uneasy thoughts, not that I think he has any dealings with France, but that he may think it his interest to lengthen the war.

You will see by what I write to Lord Treasurer, that it is a misfortune the Elector was not on the Rhine the beginning of this month, since that time

would have been the best time for the attempt of the Franche Comté; the enemy having no troops on that side, and the people as you know very well inclined for us. Not only on this occasion, but when we treat of peace, I should think it very much for the interest of the allies to strengthen the Duke of Lorraine, for that would be a good barrier on that side. As for our siege, the nearer we get to the fosse, the more difficulty we find, so that we must have patience. The Marshal de Villars having received the detachment from the Rhine, and knowing the impossibility of our being able to march till we are masters of the town, he is come with his army between the Scarpe and the Skell, having left ten thousand men in his lines of La Basseé, where the militia of the Boullonnois is expected.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

July 30, 1709.

I gave you an account last night of the town of Tournay capitulating. The Prince of Savoy and I signed at ten o'clock last night, to-morrow night we are to begin the continuation of our attack against the citadel. My Lord Albemarle has the command of Tournay.

I am assured that Monsieur de Guichon, who was with Monsieur de Torcy at the Hague, came the 24th of this month to the Hague, and returned the next day for Paris. As I have received letters of

the same date from Lord Townshend and the Pensioner, which make no mention of him, I should not believe it, but that it comes from one I ought to believe; but I believe you may depend upon it, that the misery of France, and the inclinations of the Dutch are such, that if it be possible to find any expedient for the easing of the thirty-first article, it will be done, for they will have peace; but I fear it may be such a one as may occasion a very great expense for the next year, both to England and the Dutch. We are now told that the Elector of Hanover will be on the Rhine by the 8th of the next month. If they had begun to have acted sooner, it might have been of some use; but as the enemy have now drawn all the troops they think proper from thence, I suppose they have taken their resolution of letting him eat what forage he pleases. By the French letters of yesterday, we see that the Duke of Berwick is not as yet much alarmed at the motions of the Duke of Savoy's army.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

Aug. 1, 1709.

We begun last night the construction of our attack against the citadel, and in three or four days we shall change our camp, which will be towards Orchies, by which we shall cover the siege and be nearer the French lines. We have no letters but what continue to speak of the misery in France. However, I do not yet hear that any answer is given

to the Pensioner's letters, by which I think it plain that nothing but the necessity of starving will oblige them to consent to the preliminaries. I should be glad to know what answer the Queen has received from the King of Spain, as to the barrier; for by the discourse the Count de Zinzendorff held when at Brussels, I have reason to believe there will be opposition in that matter, he being empowered and instructed from the King of Spain. I hope the Queen will approve of my having let Mr. Palmes know that I think it more for her Majesty's service that he should lose no time in joining the Duke of Savoy's army, in order to press them to enter on action, than to continue in this season at Milan. I have none of yours since my last.

LORD GODOLPHIN TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

Aug. 4, 1709.

I have none of yours to acknowledge since my last, nor no hopes of them, as the wind is at present. My political reflections are all exhausted in my two last letters by Ostend and by Holland, so I write these two lines that you may not think me either negligent or lazy.

I wish you good success very heartily in the war, or in the peace, and I hope it will be in the latter; without it all will fall to pieces here next winter. If we can get it upon the foot of the preliminary treaty, everybody of all sides would really be pleased with it. But even, in that case, Harley and his

emissaries would say you might have what terms you would, as they did when they thought the preliminaries agreed to. And if it should prove, in any one article, less to our advantage, they would say you might have had better, but that you had a mind to protract the war.

In short, their language is all the same with a little French book which M. de Cardonnell did me the favour to send me over by the last post but one, and is, one or other, the most impudent as well as most impertinent thing that ever I saw in print, which is saying a proud word.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

Orchies, Aug. 6, 1709.

In yours of the 15th, by Ostend, you desire to be informed which came first. Though the winds were very contrary, that of the same date, by Holland, came first; but there must have been some negligence or mistake in that of yours by Ostend, for that by Collins of the 22nd, I had one day sooner, though they both came by Ostend.

We marched to this place the day before yesterday, and by the uneasiness Monsieur de Villars seems to be in by his perpetual marches and countermarches, I hope he will find it very difficult to preserve his lines at La Bassée, and, at the same time, to hinder us from making the siege of Valenciennes, as he now pretends. I am going this morning to Tournay, to

receive the King of France's answer concerning the citadel. I find by the Pensioner's letter, which I received last night, that he begins to be of opinion that the French will, if possible, defer the renewing the negotiation till the end of the campaign.

I have assured him that we will do all in our power to bring them to a battle, but I think they will do their utmost to avoid it. He should begin early to prepare the States to consent to the same state of war we had this year, for till that is done, the French will flatter themselves that the intentions of the States is to have peace before the next campaign. If the French do, as I think they will, put us to this expence, we ought to make them pay for it; and if we should have a peace, the money given might be employed to paying of debts.

Mr. Neville and his two sons have been here some days. I could wish the whole House of Commons were with them, believing in the winter they would not then be so ready to find faults.

Mr. Walpole has not sent me the Earl of Orrery's commission of Brigadier; but upon your letting me know the Queen's pleasure, I have declared him. My reason of writing for him was his being a man of quality and the eldest Colonel.

The King of France refuses to agree to the articles for the surrender of the citadel, unless we shall consent to a general cessation of arms in this country till the 5th of the next month, which time he said

might be employed in negotiating the peace. As this was neither in our power nor inclinations, we are going on with our attacks.

LORD GODOLPHIN TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

St. James's, July 26-Aug. 6, 1709.

Not having any of yours to acknowledge since mine by the Dutch post, and another of the same date by Collins, who went by Ostend, I shall begin to trouble you in this letter with the account of a conversation I had last Sunday, at Windsor, with my Lord Somers, who spoke very freely to me of many things. Among others, he told me he had newly had a good deal of talk with an old acquaintance of his,* to whom Harley used to tell as much of his mind as to anybody, and that having lately seen him, Harley had said enough to him to let him see plainly what were the schemes and designs of himself and of the Tories when Parliament met. In the first place, he laid it down for a foundation, that you and I were absolutely against peace, and resolved not to admit of it on any terms, which he would insinuate was very demonstrable two or three years since, and now lately there had been great proofs given in confirmation of his knowledge in that matter.

That he did not doubt but that the King of France would yet be able to fence so this summer as to hinder your hopes of making peace agree-

* Possibly Lord Rivers.

able to England, if those were your hopes. But, for his own part, he was persuaded you were as fond of war as was possible, or otherwise you had it lately in your power to have put an end to it at once, and a time would come when that matter would require a strict examination ; but for that reason, as well as many others, they must have peace at any rate ; for there was no attacking of ministers, no naming mal-administrations of any kind, while war was in being, because that was too great a weight upon them that did it, to struggle with, as they had already found more than once, by their own experience, and therefore, they must now force the Queen into peace, by refusing necessities for war, and by agreeing with Holland in everything that relates to peace ; and in case the King of France can but be so as he hoped, that peace should not, in the mean time, be to the liking of England, then to impute that to you and me, but chiefly the latter, from which he said they could never get off.

I did agree with Lord Somers, that this relation of Harley's scheme was very probable, but I hope you will every way be able to disappoint it.

I troubled you by the last post, in my letter by Holland, and also in that by Collins the messenger, so very fully upon the subject of the peace, that I need not add to it in this, but just to repeat, that in case there should be a plain necessity of ceasing hostilities against France, without any certainty

when we shall have possession of Spain, I think we ought to take the best measures we can, even before the winter comes, for pressing of Spain on all sides. And I am not in my opinion very different from the notions of my Lord Galway upon that subject, which you will find in the enclosed letters from him to yourself and to me, which I received last Sunday at Windsor.

Lord Polworth, son to the Earl of Marchmont, who has a regiment of dragoons in Scotland, is now at the bath for recovery of his health, and has so little hopes of it, so as ever to be able to serve with his regiment, that he is extremely desirous to part with it to the Duke of Roxburghe's brother, Mr. Kerr, who is indeed a very pretty young gentleman.

I am very much pressed, both by Somers and Sunderland, to write to you of this, and to desire your favour and assistance in it. And so far I agree with them, that this would be a great obligation to the Duke of Roxburghe, and also that it would be right to oblige him before winter, because I think we probably may have more sincere assistance from him than we are like to have from others of his countrymen who have found much more favour, and yet who certainly will help Harley and the Tories as much as they can, underhand, if not above-board.

I know not what engagements you may be under, or what difficulties this proposal may bring upon

you, but I should be glad to know your thoughts of it when you are fully at leisure.

I had almost forgot to tell you that I don't know whether very much weight ought to be laid upon Monsieur Guichon's being at the Hague for a day, though you had not any notice of it from the Pensioner or Lord Townshend. He might be sent to Petham or somebody else, and they knew not, or heard not of him till he was gone ; but I may be mistaken, and if really there be still any underhand trickings with the States, I will venture to be very positive in my opinion, that it were much better the negotiations should be publicly renewed and carried on, provided hostilities do not cease, till France has actually complied with such parts of the preliminary treaty as are unquestionably within her power, and given all the satisfaction for what is not in her power, as the matter is capable of. X

LORD GODOLPHIN TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

St. James's, Aug. 9, 1709.

We have now three posts due from Holland; and the winds continue so cross that I don't know when we may hope for the satisfaction of hearing from you.

Monsieur de Ligonde, a French prisoner, who had leave some time since to go to France, came over last week in a boat from Boulogne, and reports that the French Court had agreed to the capitulation for Tournay, which I hope is true, because

you seemed very desirous in your last letter that they should do so.

I don't exactly remember what you said to me before you went away, about 10 (Lord Rivers) and his pretensions. He is extremely busy all this time in endeavouring to make them succeed, and extremely dangerous at all times, as you well know ; and considering how he imposes on a great man who is a friend of ours, and means to continue so, unless he be made jealous and uneasy by Lord Rivers, I have been sometimes of opinion it would be best to send him out of the way, where 2 (Lord Galway) is now, and has pressed this good while for his return ; so that Lord Galway would like it, and Lord Rivers, nor nobody else, could ever get any credit there. However, I would not make any steps in this till I know your thoughts of it. I own to you my own are, that, which way soever this turns, he will do a great deal of mischief if he stays here ; and whatever professions he has made to you, or does now underhand make to me, I am of opinion he is at bottom entirely with Harley, *for birds of a feather flock together*. When all this is said, there will yet be a necessity of managing him, in some degree, or else his friend, whom he imposes upon, will perhaps be so simple as to fly out and keep no measures, which would have its inconveniences at this time.

LORD GODOLPHIN TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

Windsor, Aug. 11, 1709.

Yesterday I received the favour of yours of the 6th, by Ostend, in answer to mine of the 31st of July, but the former letters you mention in it, which I suppose went by Holland, are not yet arrived, there being to-morrow four posts due from thence. This is another instance of the advantage of sending by Ostend, as the winds may happen, for we have now fresh news from your army, though, at the same time, the want of four posts from Holland keep us wholly ignorant of what passes in Savoy, Italy, Spain, or any other parts of the world ; but by late letters from Colonel Wade, at Lisbon, as also by some hints in some former letters from France, to the same sense, it looks as if the designs of the King of France's nephew, the Duke of Orleans, which we could scarce give any credit to last year, were now all likely to come abroad into the world. If this should prove so, I should think that ought to make a foul house in more places than one.

I find the Queen is very much inclined to be of Lady Marlborough's mind upon the subjects of yours of the 16th, and indeed in everything relating to King Charles ; but at the same time, I must tell you, that Lord Townshend and Lord Somers, and most of those who are like to have the consideration of this matter, are directly of another opinion.

As for myself, I think your arguments are unanswerable ; however, this thing has been already so much pressed by Lord Townshend, and in the name of the Pensioner, that it is with a good deal of difficulty that I have been able to give it any delay, and I expect all those instances should be as strong as ever upon the arrival of the four posts which are now due.

Upon the whole, we must pray heartily for your good success abroad, for at home I begin to be sensible we are to expect all the same difficulties next winter which we struggled with in the last, and from the same people.

The Earl of Mar is going next week to drink the waters at Aix-la-Chapelle, as he tells me, for his health : he talks of going by Ostend, and of waiting upon you at the army. I believe he is likely enough to make you a great many professions, and, if they were sincere, I should think them as valuable as from most men of his country ; but I must also let you know, that he is thought to be very deeply engaged with the Tories, and particularly with Harley, by alliance, as well as by inclination. If he speaks to you in such a manner as you think you may rely upon, it may be of great use ; but after what I have already told you, you yourself will be the best judge of that, by the air and manner of his speaking to you. He has the general character of a man of honour.

I am very glad to hear the Dutch East India

ships are come home safe, and I should now hope they will be easier in letting some of their men-of-war watch the corn vessels coming from the northward to France, or at least help us to hinder them from going into Dunkirk. Our Ostend letters tell us they are working very hard at Dunkirk, in order to remove the ships and stores in that port to Havre-de-Grace. I think this can hardly be literally true, but I should be glad to be certainly informed what they really are doing there.

LORD GODOLPHIN TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

Windsor, Sunday, Aug. 14, 1709.

I received here last night the favour of four letters from you at the same time, of the 8th, the 12th, the 15th, and the 19th, with all the several letters and papers enclosed in them.

My Lord Townshend's letters to Mr. Secretary by the same posts give an account of the substance of Monsieur de Torcy's letter to the Pensioner and also of his answer, which seems to be a very right one; but still I find Lord Townshend is of opinion that the negotiations being again renewed, though but in this manner, they will not break off any more till the preliminaries for a peace are agreed on both sides; by what Mr. Secretary will be ordered to write by this post in answer to my Lord Townshend's letters, you will see the opinion of the Queen and her council is that, if 116 (the States) cannot be kept from renewing negotiations upon the offer

from France of giving the cautionary towns in Flanders only, yet at least it ought to be insisted on, that these towns be named by the allies, and no cessation of arms till all be executed that is agreed to be done in Flanders; that is to say, the Dutch put into the actual possession of these towns, and the allies so far put into the possession of Dunkirk, as to be sure of its immediate demolition.

Now, these things being once agreed to be done, I shall only add my opinion, that it is extremely desirable for us they should be done as soon as may be, so that the Queen may be able to speak upon certainties to the Parliament, when that time comes, or otherwise things will run into a strange confusion; and I am inclined to think we shall have more difficulty to prosecute the war another year, considering the little disposition to it in Holland, than we shall find in justifying peace upon the foot of the preliminaries, though with no other security than France is able to give, provided we can say to the Parliament that Dunkirk is demolished, Newfoundland yielded, and a treaty made with the States and the emperor for the immediate reducing of Spain by force. And I agree entirely with you, that probably it will not require much time to reduce Spain, when the Spaniards find themselves quite abandoned by France, and no longer able to keep their monarchy from being most miserably divided and broken, but by acknowledging King Charles the Third.

Now, as to the matter depending about the treaty for the succession and barrier, I find by all Lord Townshend's letters, that he continues not only firm but warm in his opinion directly contrary to yours ; and he is very positive that the Pensioner and all those that are well-intentioned will get the better of 61 and that party, if they can be able to give them this instance that the friendship of the Queen and England is more to be depended upon than any other, and that this will certainly take away the great handle by which 61 and his party gather strength in Holland, instead of adding more strength to them, as you in your letters seem to think it will.

I must own I think there is a good deal to be said for both these opinions, and therefore am very far from taking upon myself to determine which of them is most right ; but as I very much wish the question might not come to bear, so I am in great hopes the renewing of the negotiations for the peace may make it the less necessary, and by consequence abate a great deal of the warmth with which it seems to be expressed, especially when Lord Townshend shall, as he will be ordered to do by this post, begin to press the States to enter into new measures for reducing Spain, in view of not being able to keep them from accepting such a security as France pretends she is only able to give.

You say nothing more in your letters of the ad-

vantage obtained in Savoy ; if that blow were well followed, I should think nothing more likely to make France leave off all their chicanery about the peace, and come presently to the point, and for the reasons I have already given in this letter, that if peace does not come before the Parliament, the entire communication and correspondence between Harley and 61 will certainly force us to a worse.

Our fleet and troops are still kept in Torbay by contrary winds ; the same winds would serve to carry them to the coast of Picardy, if you had any occasion for them there ; but I doubt that time is not so near as I could wish.

The Czar's victory is so confirmed from all hands, that I think it can be no longer doubted. Those northern princes, whom the King of Sweden has kept so long in awe, will now be soon very troublesome, if timely measures be not concerted betwixt England and Holland to hinder any novelty in those parts.

I design to send this letter to-morrow by Ostend, being desirous you should have it as soon as may be, that you may lose no time in considering with Prince Eugene what assistance it may be reasonable for the emperor to give towards the recovery of Spain.

The French letters of the 16th say King Charles was very ill ; that would be a great *contretemps*. If the Elector of Hanover does but keep the French from making any detachments from Alsace to op-

pose the army of the allies in Savoy, it is all I can bring myself to expect from him.

Mr. Walpole will send you Lord Orrery's commission ; but he seems to think there are several elder colonels.

LORD GODOLPHIN TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

Windsor, Aug. 18th, at night, 1709.

The wind has been east all this day, and I expect to-morrow the two posts, which will then be due from Holland, but they can't possibly come hither time enough for me to acknowledge them by this post.

We have had here for some time a project for an expedition from Jamaica into the Spanish West Indies ; the chief difficulty is to bring together landmen enough to that island for this undertaking. The confirmation which we have just now received of my Lord Lovelace's death gives us a thought that if the two governments of New York and New England were joined together, and a good governor immediately sent thither with instructions for that purpose, he might be able to get a considerable body of men together to join with those in the Island of Jamaica, and two regiments from hence, which are all that can be spared.

The man we have in our thoughts, if you approve of the scheme and of him, is Colonel Hunter, who is Lord Orkney's deputy governor in Virginia, and if his Lordship would in that case appoint Mac-

cartney to go to Virginia in Hunter's place, it would be an act of great charity and compassion ; for all that the Duke of Somerset and I could say together the other day in his behalf, we could not get the Queen to say she would ever employ him again.

I had this morning a visit from Colonel Sutton, who gave me the satisfaction of telling me he had left you in perfect health ; but I find by what he said to me of Lord Orrery's being declared a brigadier, he had hopes of that favour from you at the same time. I think him a very good-natured man, and very well affectioned to you ; and this last is a quality that ought to be encouraged.

I am glad you have had the Mr. Nevilles with you ; and I wish as you do, that the whole House of Commons took their turns at the citadel of Tournay. I am apt to believe they would be much tamer creatures when they came back again.

Considering how much I have troubled you of late, I am afraid I take up too much of your time.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

Aug. 29, 1709.

Nothing having happened since mine of the 16th by Ostend, I have nothing to write other than that Prince Eugene and myself thought it for the service to stay some days longer than we intended at Tournay, to hasten if possible the attacks. We have now received letters of the 30th of the last

month from Warsaw, with the particulars of the defeat of the Swedish army. These letters say that all are taken or killed, except the king and three hundred horse. King Augustus, as it is said, was to leave Dresden on the 15th ; and it is generally thought that he will meet with very little resistance. We shall now have time enough for the taking of such measures as may be thought proper for the keeping the balance in the north. I send you the Pensioner's letter, by which you will see that he thinks it absolutely necessary that the ministers at the Hague should have full powers, and there can be no doubt for the good of the service it ought to be so ; and as for myself, I think Lord Townshend and I have full powers, but I believe the difficulty now arises from Mr. Secretary's expression on the first letter from Monsieur de Torcy, in which he acquainted Lord Townshend that the Queen might reasonably expect to have been acquainted with that letter, before any answer should have been returned.

Lord Townshend and myself shall think ourselves both safe and happy if our actions may be guided by the Queen's commands ; but then the objection of the Pensioner will subsist, and of consequence all the delays that may happen to the advancing the peace will be laid at the door of England, which may be of ill consequence in Holland.

We have just now received the letters from England of the 2nd. By the copy of Mr. Secretary's

letter to Lord Townshend, I see her Majesty has been advised to leave it in the power of Lord Townshend to conclude the barrier without stipulating anything for the entire monarchy of Spain or the demolishing of Dunkirk. Not being upon the place, I must not pretend to judge, but from my heart I wish it may meet with no ill consequences ; for most certainly there is a very great party in Holland that thinks it their interest to give some part of Spain to the Duke of Anjou, and I am afraid the same party are of opinion that the demolishing of Dunkirk is more for the interest of England than theirs.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

August 22, 1709.

I have this day received two letters from the Duke de Albe and Comte de Berwick ; they are of that consequence that I send the originals to Mr. Secretary, in order to lay before the Queen and cabinet, so that I may receive her commands. I do not doubt their having written to the same effect into Holland. However, I have sent copies to Lord Townshend, and desired him to communicate them to the Pensioner and Comte Zinzendorff.

I have, this minute, received yours of the 5th, and by what you say of Harley and his adherents, that they will find fault should it be peace or war, I must be careful of my own behaviour, which I shall be ; but that must not, nor shall hinder me

from doing everything that I shall think advantageous to the Queen and my country, for if I have quiet in my own mind, I can easily condemn all his villanous projects. I find, also, by yours of the 5th, that you have a great mind to peace. I do verily think it will be this winter ; but it would have been with more advantage to England if you had not given those last orders concerning the entire monarchy.

Colonel Hunter's friends have desired me to write to you in his favour. He is a very honest man, and a good officer.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

August 26, 1709.

The letters of the 5th came so late that I had not time to read the papers and project from Portugal sent me by Mr. Secretary.

I did always think the attempt on Cadiz, as proposed, very impracticable ; but the project now proposed for Vigo might be reasonable at the beginning of a war, but very improper at this time, when we should make efforts for the ending of the war, which, in my opinion, will never be effected in that country till the army in Catalonia, and that in Portugal, be in such a condition as that they may both march the nearest way to Madrid ; for if we shall think of forming projects for the reducing of the provinces of Spain, the war is likely to last much longer than I shall live. If the preliminaries

with France were agreed to the satisfaction of the allies, and as I have formerly written to you, that a treaty might be made between the Emperor, the Queen, and Holland, for the carrying on the war in Spain with vigour, I cannot see how it could last six months, and the expence could not be considerable, considering the troops we have already there, and as the remainder of the French must be recalled. But I am told, that in England this is thought a continuation of the war, and a giving time to France to recover, so that whilst there are such devils as Harley in the world, it is dangerous for honest men to give their opinion; but to you and the Queen I shall always, as long as I am in business, give mine freely; and I confess I cannot but be of opinion that if the war should be continued for some time longer, we shall at last be obliged to go to the expence of reducing Spain, for I do not think it in the power of the French King or his ministers to oblige the Spaniards and the Duke of Anjou to submit to the preliminaries.

How far Holland may continue firm to me I have my doubts, notwithstanding what is written by Lord Townshend to Mr. Boyle. I must also continue of opinion, that when the States shall be acquainted with the orders Lord Townshend has received, that he will find them every day more unreasonable in their demands.

I wish I may be mistaken, for I have no wish but the Queen and my country's service, but I am afraid

I shall live to see this proceeding found fault with, since in all probability Holland will not be contented unless they obtain some advantage on our trade.

An officer from the Czar's army is this afternoon come with letters and the relation of the late victory to the Prince of Savoy and myself. He left the Czar twelve days after the action.

I send to Mr. Secretary a copy of my letter from the Czar's favourite and general, with the relation of the whole, so that I shall not trouble you with repeating, but cannot avoid telling you, that the particular account the officer gives me is so terrible, that having once seen the King of Sweden, I am extremely touched with the misfortune of this young King. His continued successes, and the contempt he had of his enemies, has been his ruin.

The Pensioner writes me word, that by the end of this week he expects an answer to his letter. I believe this answer will not ease the difficulties, but before the winter they will be obliged to speak plain.

I have this minute had a letter from Lieutenant-General Ingoldsby. His request of being one of the Justices when Lord Wharton comes for England is very reasonable, and I am sure for the Queen's service, that he who has the honour to command her Majesty's troops should be one; however, if the Queen's pleasure be not known, I am afraid the Lord-Lieutenant will not name him,

which makes me give you this trouble, hearing that Lord Wharton has leave to come for England

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

Tournay, August 31, 1709.

This morning at seven o'clock the enemy beat the chamade, but the cessation of arms continued only four hours. We, considering what had passed, and the certain knowledge we have of their want of provisions, would allow them no capitulation but that of prisoners of war, at which they are extremely angry, and say they will defend themselves to the last extremity. I believe seven or eight days will put an end to it.

I hear there is one of the Duke of Argyle's officers in his troop of guards that is like to die; if he should, I desire you will put her Majesty in mind of her promise to Mr. Lumley, who is here, and behaves himself very well. The best way to avoid solicitation is for the Queen to give her orders to Mr. Walpole as soon as the vacancy happens.

The situation of this country is such, that Prince Eugene and myself think it impossible to force the Marshal to a battle, so we are taking our measures for another siege, though de Roch and Dumay are both in a condition of not acting.

I send Mr. Secretary a copy of the capitulations the enemy desired, which is very different from that which they must accept of, which will lessen

the number of their King's troops of twelve regiments.

The man which I have at Dunkirk sends me the inclosed paper, which I have sent to the Governor of Ostend ; he assures me at the same time, that they are in no condition of giving the least jealousy to England or Scotland.


As yet I know not the particulars of the answer which came to the Pensioner on Wednesday last, as Mr. Walpole writes to Cardonnell ; but as I have nothing from Lord Townshend nor the Pensioner, I believe there is nothing very deciding in it, which is occasioned by the hopes the King of France has that the Dutch will be brought to do something for 45 (the Duke of Anjou).

You will certainly have an account from Lord Townshend by his letters of the 30th, of Monsieur de Torcy's letter, and I beg by the first post I may know what your thoughts are of it, for whatever my private opinion may be, I shall act just as the Queen would have me. Pray despatch Mr. Craggs for Barcelona.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

Sept. 3, 1709.

I have this morning received yours of the 14th and 19th of the last month by Ostend, by which I see the warmth of Lord Townshend and his party. I pray God they may be in the right ; if other-



wise, the fault will be laid to the charge of you and me.

Lord Townshend has sent me the copy of his letter of the 30th to Mr. Secretary, so that I need not give you any account of the answer they have made to Monsieur de Torcy's letter, which I think is as right as one could expect, for depend upon it, they will never quit this negotiation, and notwithstanding the assurances there is a very great party that thinks it their interest to give some part of the monarchy of Spain to the Duke of Anjou.

We have from the French army the ill news of General Meray's being beaten, which if true, we have not only lost seven thousand men, but also our expectations of the Franche Comté.

We are now in possession of one of the gates of the citadel; for the conditions I must refer you to the capitulation which I send to Mr. Secretary. We march this night if possible, in order to invest Mons before they put any more troops into it; not having been able to surprise St. Ghislaix, we are obliged to march five leagues about, which may prove of advantage to the enemy. I am very glad you have sent orders to Lord Townshend for the pressing of the Pensioner and Count Zinzendorff, that the method and proportions for the carrying on the war with Spain might be immediately settled, for that will put the Queen more at ease; for should that war be carried on without such a treaty, the greatest part of the expence would be left to her.

The reason of my never mentioning the business of Savoy is, that I fear nothing considerable will be done there this year.

I find by yours of the 14th, as well as a former letter, that you are of opinion, that the affairs of England require peace, and yet all the orders to Lord Townshend are full of obstructions. All my hopes are that France is in so miserable a condition, that when you shall insist only on what is in her power, she must comply. I am entirely of your opinion, that you should by no means oppose what is pressed by Lord Townshend; but I beg to desire you will do nothing of yourself, but to let 97 (the Whigs) be answerable.

I send you Lady Sophia Bulkeley's answer, which is more reasonable than I did expect.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

Sept. 7, 1709.

Since my last I have had the favour of yours of the 18th, by the Dutch mail.

Colonel Hunter, whom you mention for the West Indies, is a very good man; as to the expedition itself, it is impossible for me to give any judgment; but I know that my Lord Halifax and Lord Somers, by the judgment of some merchants, are made very fond of such expeditions. I do not remember anything that has hitherto ever served for anything but a pretext to plunder. I should think the care of the Queen and you should be not to run

the government in debt, since that is what must put you in the power of parties.

We have had a continual march ever since the second of this month, with very great rains, which have been very troublesome, but I thank God we are now masters of these lines, so that we are masters of making the siege of Mons, but as our cannon must come from Tournay to Brussels by water, and afterwards by land to this place, it will be near the 20th before we shall get them hither, so that we shall employ part of this time in making our lines, and if we can, with our field train, take St. Ghislaix. The Marshal de Villars has his left towards Valenciennes, and his right towards Maubeuge. I forgot to tell you in my last, that I think it would give the faction occasion of talking, if the Queen should at this time allow the Marshal de Tallard leave to go for France, as is desired by Monsieur de Torcy. I believe you may depend upon it, before the meeting of Parliament, I shall be able to let you know how far you may depend upon peace.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

Sept. 11, N. S. 1709.

The English post of the 26th is come, but I have not strength to do anything but that of letting you know we have had this day a very murdering battle. God has blessed us with a victory; we having first beaten their foot and then their horse. If Holland


pleases, it is now in our power to have what peace we please, and I have the happiness of being pretty well assured that this is the last battle I shall be in, so that I may end my days in some quietness, and have the satisfaction of your company.

Mr. Graham, this bearer, is a very brave man, and one of my aide-de-camps ; he will give you an account of the action ; and I think you should give him five hundred pounds.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

Sept. 13, N. S. 1709.

Since mine of the 11th by Mr. Graham, I have hardly had time to sleep, being tormented by the several nations for care to be taken of their wounded. The French have never, during this war, fought so well as this time, so that vast numbers of their officers, as well as soldiers, are wounded and killed, there being little or no quarter given in the wood on our right of either side. We had eighty battalions in that wood, and I believe they had more. The battle is extremely glorious for the arms of the allies, but our loss is very considerable. The enemy had not only the advantage of the ground, but they had also two entrenchments, one behind the other, in the wood, and a very good entrenchment before their horse, with openings at every two hundred paces through which we passed, having first made ourselves masters of their line, in which we posted seventeen battalions, all the rest being engaged on



the right and left. Our left was the Dutch troops only, who behaved themselves extremely well, but could not force the enemy's retrenchments, so that their effort has suffered more than any other nation. The King of France's household troops charged twice, so that they must have suffered very much. I believe there never was a battle in which there has been so many killed and wounded as in this, for there are very few prisoners, considering the greatness of this action. If the Queen be pleased to order the thanksgiving day late in October, it may so happen that I may be at it, for I cannot but believe Monsieur de Torcy will make new applications at the Hague, which, if they do, her Majesty may command me over for a fortnight.

I send by this post, a letter to Lord Sunderland, and another to yourself from Lord Stanhope. I received them in the heat of the battle, but could not read them till this morning. By the management they have there I see no hopes of success, for they follow no one project, but they undertake every thing and finish nothing, which, in the management of a war, is very dangerous.

I have such an inward heat, that I have no skin upon my lips, which is extremely troublesome. The Prince of Savoy gave me the enclosed this afternoon, and at the same time was very desirous of writing to the Emperor for his consent, not doubting of the Queen's paying the troops as desired. If you give them any ease in this matter, you must

not expect that they will ever be brought to send any troops, but such as you pay. I think you should take this occasion when the Comte de Gallas speaks, to let him know that the Queen can go no further than giving her proportion as the Emperor and the Dutch, and at the same time to let him know that the quickest means of obtaining troops will be to conclude the treaty which Lord Townshend has orders to propose to the Pensioner and Comte de Zinzendorff.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

Sept. 16, N. S. 1709.

Since my last, I have had none from you, and ever since the battle I have had so continual a headache, that I am extremely uneasy, so that I write as little as possible. You will, without doubt, have had an account from Lord Townshend of Monsieur de Torcy's letter, by which you will see there was need of this action. Monsieur de Wacherbach, who is minister to King Augustus, was with me this morning to communicate his letters of the last post, which were full of expressions and respect to the Queen, which he desired I might represent to her Majesty, which I beg you will do.

I see by Lord Townshend's letter, that the Pensioner thinks it very advisable that the Queen and the States should send each a minister to King Augustus. I agree entirely with him, but it should not be Mr. Robinson, for with justice that court will

consider him as one too much inclined for the Swedes ; so that he would have no credit, and consequently do no good, so that I think you should gratify Mr. Robinson in letting him stay in England and name some other for this commission. The instructions should not be given till the end of the campaign, for by that time we shall know what success he has in Poland, as well as our own circumstances. My head makes me so uneasy that I can write no more.

Lord Mar, believing this battle will make everything easy this winter in England, begs you will obtain the Queen's leave for him to continue this winter abroad. I think him a very honest man, so that I hope the Queen will be pleased to allow of his request.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

Sept. 19, N. S. 1709.

For eight days before the battle of Taisniere, we were in perpetual motion, and ever since I have been extremely disordered, so that I am not sure if I have given you an account of my having told the Prince of Friese that I was commanded by her Majesty to make him a compliment in return to what he had said concerning the jewels. I think the Queen should answer his letter and send it to me, but not give him the title of Orange, for that would anger the King of Prussia. I will take care the young man may not take it ill ; it might be in-

sinuated in the letter that I might bring the jewels when I return to England, for they cannot be delivered till he goes to the Hague, which will be at the same time with me.

I have sent for some spa waters, in order to drink them this next week, if I can get time. I have sent by this post to Mr. Secretary a copy of a letter sent me from the Elector of Hanover, by which you will see that the man left by Sir Philip Meadows at Vienna is a rogue. The Elector has sent the original to the Emperor. By the letters I have received from Italy, I find the Duke of Savoy's army will undertake nothing more this year, and that of Germany has no thoughts of doing anything, so that the French have already ordered troops from the Rhine.


HENRY ST. JOHN TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

Bucklebury, Sept. 8, O. S. 1709.

It is impossible, I find, to be so much out of the way, as not to hear of the triumphs of your Grace's arms ; the sound of them has reached even me, and at a time when I began to forget the world, has made me think of it again with pleasure.

I use the liberty, which your Grace was pleased to allow me, with discretion ; but if I did not trouble you on this occasion, I should fail in doing justice to a heart full of joy for your success, zeal for your service, and love for your person.

That your Grace may go on to finish this war



with the same glory as you have been attended by in the prosecution of it, that we may owe you the establishment of our happiness at home, as we do our security from foreign danger, and that I may live one time or other to contribute in some degree or other to the advancement of your designs, is the most ardent prayer of your Grace's, &c. &c.

LORD SOMERS TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

8th of September, O. S. 1709.

My Lord,

I am too sensible of the greatness of the affairs in which your Grace is constantly engaged, and of the little use any letters of mine can be, to pretend to trouble you often ; but I lay in a sort of customary claim to congratulate you upon the occasion of this glorious victory, as I have done often before upon the like accounts. Many others can make their court better ; but no man living can more truly rejoice in the success, or has more heartily wished, and prayed for it. May the consequence of it be as agreeable and happy to yourself as your own heart can desire, and to all Europe in producing a happy and lasting peace, which is the end for which you have been so long fighting, and which I hope you will live long to enjoy with honour and satisfaction.

I cannot but hope this last great success will quite lower the credit of those who may wish for an ill peace, and satisfy the French King at last that he

has attempted everything possible for saving his own honour, and that it is time for him in good earnest to think of preserving France from utter ruin.

I am sure your Grace will omit nothing which may improve this glorious advantage: I am not so vain as to offer any poor thoughts of mine for that purpose.


LORD CONINGSBY TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

Hampton Court (Herefordshire), Sept. 10, O. S. 1709.

My Lord,

I reckon myself unhappy that by reason of the distance I am from hearing the glorious news your Grace has once more sent us, that I can't as early as others congratulate you upon it, but I am in hopes your Grace believes there lives not any man that rejoices more heartily, and chiefly for that it has pleased God to preserve you, on whom (under him,) I know the welfare of your family and of those that have the honour to be esteemed your friends entirely depends.

The times are much changed since you told me at the beginning of this war, that the encouragement you had to venture your life for the public, was because you knew that the same care of those you left behind you, for whom you had any concern, would be taken by others as by yourself, and it may be said with great truth that there is no soil in



Europe produces that cursed weed ingratitude like this.

I will only presume to add, that let what will be the consequence of this blow your Grace has given to France, no consideration ought to hinder you from being here some time before the Parliament meets, and then I doubt not but you will be able to conquer your enemies here, as you have done there, and to take such measures as shall, by God's assistance, secure to you a long, a quiet, and a happy life, to enjoy the fruits of all the hazards you have run, and all the pains you have taken to bring this bloody war to so glorious a conclusion.

THE EARL OF PETERBOROUGH TO THE DUKE OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Sept. 12th, O. S. 1709.

I received the late agreeable news at my Lord Mordaunt's house in Yorkshire, where Lord Huntley had brought his wife to see me. He desires me to make his compliments to your Grace. I wish they were as hearty to your cause, as I believe they are to your person.

I congratulate your Grace the more upon this occasion, because it seems by the accounts we have received that the enemies never fought so well; the vigorous resistance added a grace to your victory, and will make their submission less shameful.

Upon Lake's death, I desired Lord Mordaunt to make all possible haste to his regiment.

I will not trouble your Grace about his pretences, if he only desires his right, his sufferings and your goodness will secure him from disappointment. I hope in the service he will deserve your favour.

LORD GODOLPHIN TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

Windsor, Sept. 9-20, 1709.

This goes to you by Mr. Graham, who designs to embark to-morrow in this packet-boat, so you will receive no other letter from me by this post, and indeed I gave you so much trouble by the last, that it is not very necessary to write much by this.

I can't refuse to send you the memorial of my Lord William Hay, having told his brother, my Lord Yester, that all the service I could do him, I would. My Lord John Hay was a very good man, and by all I have seen of this, I am inclined to believe he is not an ill one.

I shall only add, that upon the strength of your victory, I spoke yesterday to the Bank, that pursuant to the latitude given in the last session of Parliament, they would now contract with me for the circulating 600,000*l.* more in Exchequer bills to the carrying on the public service. What I said seemed to be pretty well received, and I hope it

will succeed ; but upon that occasion Sir Gilbert Heathcote, who is Governor, said to me, " Pray, my Lord, don't let us have a rotten peace." " Pray tell me," I answered, " what you call a rotten peace?" " I call anything a rotten peace," he said, " unless we have Spain, for without it we can have no safety, and now we have them down, let us keep them so, till we get quite out of the war." " But, Sir Gilbert," I said, " I want you a little to consider the circumstances of the Duke of Marlborough and me ; we are railed at every day for having a mind, as they call it, to perpetuate the war, and we are told we shall be worried next winter, for refusing a good peace, and insisting upon terms which it was impossible for France to perform." He replied very quick, " They are a company of rotten rogues that tell you so ; I'll warrant you, we'll stand by you."

I had a mind by this safe hand to give you an account of this dialogue naturally, as it passed. Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Mr. Gold, Deputy Governor of the Bank, were both present at our discourse. By this you will see that as all the malicious people will rail, if there be no peace, so those who wish best will be very uneasy at any peace under which they do not think themselves safe, or that leaves them to an after game for the recovery of Spain. This seemed also to be in a good measure the sense of the States, when Lord Townshend alarmed them with the prospects of a

new treaty. If they continue in that mind I hope peace may be had so as at least to satisfy our friends; for the others it is impossible.

LORD GODOLPHIN TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

Windsor, Sept. 12, O. S. 1709.

I have the favour of yours of the 16th, by which I am very much concerned to find you complain so much of the headache, and in that of the 13th, of a drought and inward heat; I might impute it to the great agitation of the day of battle, and am in hopes that rest, and a little care of your diet, will soon recover you. But Lady Marlborough has been so much alarmed at these letters, that it was with difficulty she was prevailed with not to go over in the last packet-boat to you. She is now at St. Alban's, expecting to hear some good news of your health, before her mind can be at liberty enough to come hither, which she had otherwise designed to do yesterday.

The Duke of Somerset is mighty uneasy here, and seems to take it a little unkindly of me, that I had not taken any notice of his two letters he had written, one of them was, I think, in recommendation of this Lord, from whom I send the enclosed, for no other reason, but to put you in mind of the Duke of S.'s letter; and his other letter was about Mr. Berkeley, the Queen's page. He is, in my opinion, extremely expecting and unreasonable.

However, I think it would be right to manage him in some degree.

As to what you write in yours of the 16th about not sending Mr. Robinson to Poland, but rather some other person, because if it is known, particularly to Sweden, that would be certainly right, if he were not entirely changed in all that matter, and if he did not resolve to be useful to the King in endeavouring to bury and lay asleep all that matter, and to turn it all to his future quiet, and to his being useful to the alliance; and since he would not pretend to go upon any other foot than this, we are of opinion here, that his experience in that part of the world, joined to the general opinion conceived both of his integrity and capacity, will make him more capable of doing service, than anybody we could send from hence, where there is no great choice of proper persons for that, or anything else.

I am forced to trouble you with the enclosed for the Earl of Mar, not knowing where to send it to him, and I send it open that you may see, if you can give yourself that trouble, what answer the Queen too directed me to make him.


Since I began to write this, I have received the favour of yours of the 19th, by which I have the satisfaction of finding your illness does not continue, and that you have sent for the spa waters, which are certainly very proper for your complaint, and I hope will soon set you right again.

We had notice from Lord Townshend of the villainy of Sir Philip Meadows's Secretary, upon which the necessary directions are given of sending him over hither with his papers.

As to the Prince of Friese, the Queen says Monsieur Vryberghen gave her his letter, and has asked for an answer to it, which she says she has promised him, and will give it him when she can write, but her eyes are so very sore, and therefore she desires you to make that excuse for her to the Prince, and what you think proper about giving you the jewels.

I have long foreseen that the behaviour of our armies upon the Rhine and in Savoy would encourage the enemy to draw detachments from thence in a very little time, and I think I have in a former letter prepared you to expect it, before you could have heard it from thence ; and I can't help doubting, if your siege should prove a long one, you will find another army in the field before the end of it. Our fleet and troops are all upon their way to Spain, so one can't offer you any assistance from hence.

By all that comes from Lord Townshend since the battle, there seems reason to hope that both the Pensioner and the States are in very good humour, and more desirous than ever to compel the King of France to their measures for peace. I wish they may long continue in that mind ; but by the relation the French publish, it looks as if they had yet



a mind to keep up a farther spirit among their people. But we shall certainly continue to hinder their supplies of corn by sea, both here and in the Mediterranean, which can hardly fail to make them extremely uneasy, and if it be true that Holland is training their state of war for next year, that alone is enough to bring them to a peace upon any terms.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

Sept. 23, 1709.

By yours of the 29th of the last month, I find you were in hopes that the Duke of Savoy would take the field; but it is so far from that, that I look upon the campaign on that side as done. You also mention the surprising of Bayonne; I have never seen any of those projects succeed, but if the war continues, the proper time for that will be in the spring.

As soon as I received yours of the first of this month, I sent to Antwerp to Mr. Cartwright, that he should immediately send to M. de Cardonnell the particulars of the articles which you mention for extraordinaries sent by him to England, consisting of 45,000*l*. As soon as I see it you shall have my remarks. In the mean time you may be at ease in your mind, for I am very sure that the 40,000*l*. will more than pay the extraordinaries of that year. The two great articles are the forage

given the army at the siege of Ghent, and the two months' pay for the bread, waggon, and Medina's losses. The bread for the Imperialists and Palatines is to be repaid out of the loan on this country. You may be very well assured that I shall be careful that whatever is in my power shall be done, that no blame may fall on you; and I am very confident that whenever the accounts are looked into, it will be seen that there has been savings in the army of this country, and very great extravagancies in Spain and Portugal, so that I beg of you that you will press Mr. Brydges to give in his accounts for the little that concerns myself, which is the 10,000*l.* extraordinaries; I should be glad to have my discharge from the Exchequer, for I think I stand engaged for no other money, and that is more form than anything else. However, I should be loth to leave any incumbrance on my family or on myself, being resolved for the little time I have to live, to be as quiet as possible.

I should have sent you the enclosed copy of Comte Zinzendorff's letter by the last post. You will observe by it, how necessary this last battle was for the keeping up of their courage in some of the provinces. I have submitted, and shall meddle as little as possible. I wish the approbation and orders that Lord Townshend receives from the Queen and the Cabinet Council may prove for the good of England. Notwithstanding this battle, I am still of

opinion that the Dutch will at last, when they have obtained everything they desire from England, to make it the more secure, to oblige the King of France, give some part of 112 (Spain) to the Duke of Anjou. I cannot hinder myself to let you know this, but pray let nobody be acquainted with it but the Queen. I do, from my soul, wish I may be mistaken.

I forgot in my last to desire you would be careful of not taking any measures concerning the north till we see what becomes of the King of Sweden ; and when I come to the Hague I shall be able to know, by the Pensioner, what measures the States will be willing to enter into.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

Sept. 26, N. S. 1709.

Since my last I have none of yours to answer, there being now two posts due. After much trouble we got yesterday part of our artillery from Brussels, so that the trenches were opened last night without much loss, except the misfortune of poor Cadogan, who was wounded in the neck. They cannot find the ball, nor can the surgeons give any judgment till they have dressed him once or twice more. I hope in God he will do well, for he would be a loss.

As I am now pressed to declare that I would stay at Brussels as last year, till the return of Prince Eugene from Vienna, I should be glad to have your

opinion as to the answer I should give. I will own to you, that I think the scene so changed that I cannot think my stay here necessary, nor is it any ways agreeable to the resolution I have taken of meddling as little as possible in any public affairs. I do not say anything to Mr. Secretary in order for the Queen's commands till I have your opinion, for I do not care to submit myself in this matter to the direction of the Cabinet Council.

The enclosed relation was going to Paris from an officer of the Gens-d'armerie ; he speaks well of everybody. As to our not pressing them in their retreat, which he seems to think a fault, it is good you should know the true reason the Prince of Savoy and I had for it was, that we had no foot, and we feared our being beaten back had we pursued them any farther. Our foot of the right being at a great distance, and our Dutch foot of the left, which was the nearest, we were afraid to make them advance, they having been twice repulsed. There never was a battle of so many regular troops in which there was so great a slaughter on both sides. The enclosed is the account of what the foot lost. I have not yet the exact account of the loss of our horse.

I send you Sir Rowland Gwynne's letter. I have reason to think he means very sincerely, so that I wish something could be done for him.

LORD GODOLPHIN TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

Windsor, Sept. 27, 1709.

The wind continuing still so contrary that we can have no letters from abroad, not so much as from Ostend, I should not have the least thing to add to what I have written by the two last posts, but for the misfortune of poor Mr. Howe's death, upon which occasion I am commanded by the Queen to tell you, that her eyes being still too sore to write to you herself, in case you have not already given a regiment to my Lord Hertford, either of yourself, or upon what she ordered me to write to you before relating to this subject, she seems to think this may be a proper occasion of gratifying him with less envy, because nobody in the army knows of the vacancy, and that as she is informed the Lieutenant-Colonel is a man of no deep pretensions.

The meeting of the Parliament is fixed for the 15th of November, and the public thanksgiving day for the 22d of the same month.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

Oct. 3, 1708.

I was so out of order the last post that I could not give any answer to your four letters of the 5th, 6th, 7th, and 9th. I am extremely obliged to you for your kind concern for my health and safety. My feverish and agueish distemper is turned to a looseness, by which I hope to be cured ; at present it dispirits me.

I should after the battle have preferred the siege

of Maubeuge, but it was wholly impossible till we were first masters of Mons. The lines which the Marshal de Boufflers is working between Valenciennes and, and from thence to the Sambre, is chiefly for the security of Maubeuge. I agree with you that the faults at Barcelona are not to be attributed to Mr. Stanhope, who acts, I think, with great zeal in everything he conceives to be for her Majesty's service. In one of yours you lament the killed; in so great an action it is impossible to get the advantage but by exposing men's lives; but the lamentable sight and thoughts of it has given me so much disquiet, that I believe it the chief cause of my illness, to see so many brave men killed with whom I have lived these eight years, when we thought ourselves sure of a peace. I have seen a letter from Paris, in which they seem to expect great advantages by the disorders they expect in the North; but I hope their own disorders in their own country are so great that they will not be able to subsist their troops, and at the same time find such sums of money as will be necessary for the opening the next campaign. I have in my former letters assured you of my believing Mr. Hunter to be a very good man, and that I am confident he will execute any orders that may be given him very well. You will believe me when I tell you that I should be glad Mr. Ash had Mr. Lowther's place at the Board of Ordnance; but for his being Governor of Barbadoes, how will that agree with the Queen's resolution at my desire of giving those governments

to the officers of the army ? I should have been glad to have served my Lord Dunmore's son on this occasion of poor Lord Tullibardine's being killed, but I think the States' resolution was so just that I could not think it reasonable to interpose ; the Lieutenant Colonel also being killed, they have given the regiment to the Major.

I hope her Majesty will approve of the resolutions I have taken of filling the vacancies with such as were in the battle, except Mr. Berkeley, having had formerly her Majesty's orders for him. I hope to have a cornet's place for him in Mr. Lumley's regiment. Before I received the Queen's commands in your last letter for Lord Hertford, I had told him he should have a regiment, and I have written to his father to know which of these he desires.

I am very much of the opinion of Sir Gilbert Heathcote that we must not be contented with a rotten peace. I have already said so much to you of my opinion of peace, that I shall say no more till I have the happiness of being with you. I have this minute yours of the 12th and 16th ; and if you continue of the opinion of sending Mr. Robinson, you will succeed in none of your negotiations in the North ; for though Mr. Robinson be a very honest man, and his intentions very good, yet he will be so suspected in the court of Augustus that he will have no credit, and in Denmark and at Berlin it will be looked upon as a partiality to Sweden, and the Czar will be of the same opinion. The Pensioner, who

was for his going, is now of my opinion. You will have known from Lord Townshend and Sir Philip Meadows of the innocency of his secretary, and that the letter must have been written by a Scotchman called Akenbread, a very villain.

I shall acquaint the Prince of Friese with the reason of the Queen's not having yet written. I have already made it easy with him for the direction of the letter. The great quantity of rain makes our attacks go slowly, the men not being able to work as they ought to do in the nights ; but the worst of this ill weather is, that it must and does already occasion sickness amongst our foot.

I was glad to find by yours of the 16th, that the fleet and men were on their way to Spain ; for had they been detained longer in England, they could have been of no use here, the campaign being so very much advanced ; but I think by the orders France gives, it is very plain that if the war continues, their design is to have as many of their troops as is possible in this country ; but as I hope it is impossible for them to continue the war, I am not much concerned for the orders they have given for the march of their troops.

Whenever there may be a vacancy in the troops in Scotland, I hope the Queen will gratify Lord William Hay ; but it is impossible to bring him over the heads of the officers in this army by any vacancy that happens here.

LORD GODOLPHIN TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

Newcastle, Oct. 3, 1709.

I received last night at this place the favour of four letters from you at once, of the 26th and 30th of September, and of the 3rd and 7th of October. In yours of the 26th of September you say you are much pressed to stay at Brussels till Prince Eugene's returning from Vienna. This is wholly impossible, if you would have anything go on here, so I beg of you not to hesitate a moment upon this point, for all is undone here, if you do not come over as soon as the campaign is ended, and I will write this moment to the Queen to cause my Lord Sunderland to write to Lord Townshend to press the Pensioner with all the earnestness that can be to think of some other expedient ; so either Prince Eugene must stay till you can return, or they must rely upon some other officers as shall be judged most proper for their winter guard.

In yours of the 30th of September you complain of your health and the ill weather. I hope both are mended before this time, for we have now a very fine day. But you must take care not to let a looseness hang long upon you, nor to overcharge your stomach while it continues. I have thought from the first moment of the inconvenience of the King of Denmark's intentions, as now you seem to do. I am sure the Queen and her council are of the same mind ; and I don't doubt but she will speak accordingly to Monsieur de Rosencrantz ; but if persuasions will not do, Holland ought to agree

with us to speak in another tone. If it were sure that the King of Sweden were in Pomerania, I should agree Mr. Robinson ought to be sent to him ; but I look upon that news to be next to impossible. I shall acquaint the Queen with your intentions, which I find in yours of the third of October, of filling the vacancies with such as have served in the battle, which doubtless her Majesty will approve ; also with what you write in answer, and other commands about Lord Hertford, who will not now be contented with either of the regiments you have offered him, an elder being since vacant by the death of Mr. Howe.

I am very glad to find by yours of the 7th that Mr. Cadogan was out of danger, though still I doubt you must be content to lose his service for the rest of this campaign.

While I continue here, my letters must be very stupid ; but as I hear anything certain from London, I will be sure to write to you.

By some mistake, one of my letters, designed to go by last post to you, came too late for it.

MATTHEW PRIOR TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

Westminster, Nov. 16, 1709.

My Lord,

I have been at your Grace's levee among the many who pay their general compliment to you, but had not the good fortune to approach near enough. I therefore take this opportunity of your being a little alone, to congratulate your safe arrival in Eng-

land, and of wishing you may find here all those grateful returns which the glory of your arms, and particularly of the last campaign, may deserve. I assure myself that I continue in your Grace's favour, and in that assurance I place the welfare of my life; but one of those things which would make life much easier to me than it is at present, is my being released from the fear of lying under my Lady Duchess's displeasure. I believe some of your Grace's friends will trouble you in my behalf, that by your kindness to me I may be restored to the commission, in which there is now a vacancy, or sent to Florence, or where else your commands may dispose of me, and that too at such a time as you may think proper. But if in my own person I may say what I most desire, it is, that I may have the liberty of laying myself at my Lady Duchess's feet, and of begging her to hear me demonstrate my innocence as to anything that might have offended her, and to accept my service in whatever may hereafter oblige her; in one word, my Lord, to shew her Grace the contents of this letter. I have lost my employment after sixteen years' service; fare it well. I still subsist, God Almighty bless your goodness and bounty for it. I desire no more of my Lady Duchess than that she would not think me a villain and a libeller. I beg no other eclaircissement of what is past than that she would forget it; and with the most solemn protestation I aver, that I have ever esteemed her as one of the best of women, and would justify that esteem

with my life, which, at present, is no great compliment, for in truth I grow pretty weary of it. Your Grace will be pleased to indulge this request of the most unhappy, but the most faithful of your servants,
MAT. PRIOR.

MATTHEW PRIOR TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

Dec. 22, 1709.

My Lord,

I have congratulated your Grace on so many occasions, that if I were silent on this, of passing yesterday's acts, and perpetuating your honour to your posterity, I should think myself wanting in the great duty I owe you. Your grace will pardon my presuming to do it in this manner, since an indisposition of body hinders me from paying you my personal respects. I take leave to say to your Grace that amongst the many who on this subject have waited on you, no man can wish more sincerely well to your Grace and your family than myself; and that, amongst all those whom your goodness has obliged, no man is more sensible of its effects, or more zealous and industrious to deserve its continuance.

I am ever, with all imaginable duty and respect,
my Lord, &c. &c.,

MAT. PRIOR.

Endorsed by the Duchess of Marlborough — 'Tis certain this man has writ some of the scandalous libels of the Duke of Marlborough and me, though he had a pension of four hundred pounds a year from the Duke of Marlborough, when he pretended to be in his interest.

MATTHEW PRIOR TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

Jan. 28, 1709.

My Lord,

The very mentioning the last campaign in complimenting your Grace's public character upon it, is far from being the subject of a private letter. All that kind of respect must be paid in a different manner; and as long as I can hold a pen I shall endeavour to do it, and that too from the bottom of my heart.

What I have at present to say to my great patron is this. Upon my Lord Herbert's death there is a vacancy in the Commission of Trade, to which I have good reason to hope I may succeed, my Lord Duke of Montague having spoken to Lord Treasurer on that subject, and received Lord Treasurer's answer, that his Lordship has a great inclination to befriend me, and her Majesty, having a great many solicitations for this place, will not yet fill it up. The Duke of Montague, who is the chief of my friends here in this affair, bid me write the state of this thing to your Grace. My Lord, I think it is in so fair a way that a word from your Grace would confirm it. I leave this to your Grace's consideration, whose goodness has always befriended me, and remain, with the greatest zeal and respect, your Grace's, &c.*

* The refusal of Godolphin to comply with this request, or at least his demur, irritated Prior, and threw him into the arms of the opposite party, when, forgetful of his obligation to the Duke of Marlborough, he abused him with as much malignity as Swift.

MATTHEW PRIOR TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

1709.

I presume to let your Grace know that in this unhappy leisure, from which I beg so heartily to be released, I have collected into one volume whatever I had heretofore writ. The only valuable pieces are those in which I have endeavoured to mention the great Duke of Marlborough as I ought, and the obligations which Britain has to her General's conduct. My Lady Duchess has been pleased to receive the book kindly, and has ordered Mr. B. to let me know she is satisfied I never did deserve her displeasure, and her Grace's justice is such, that all obstacles on that side are perfectly removed. I am very sure (if there be occasion) she will be so far from opposing my being restored, that she will assist it.

I beg your Grace's pardon for the length of my letter, but, my Lord, my gratitude is always talkative and importunate.

I wish your Grace all the health, prosperity, and success that can contribute to make a prince happy.

LORD GODOLPHIN TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

Sunday, March 5, 1709-10.

I have received the favour of yours of the 11th and 12th, and shall endeavour to obey all your commands in it as well as I am able to do, but this uneasy trial of Sacheverel's does not only take up all my time, but very much impairs my health, and

how it will end I am not at all certain ; but I certainly wish it had never began, for it has occasioned a very great ferment, and given opportunity to a great many people to be impertinent who always had the inclination, but wanted the opportunity of shewing it. Upon the whole, the great majority in the House of Lords, which we had in the beginning of this sessions, encourages people* to commit follies, which however one can't convince them of till it is too late.

I yesterday morning read your letter to the Queen, with the paper enclosed in it from Monsieur Gronken. She has allowed me to tell you, she thinks the King of Prussia's desires in both points very reasonable, and that you may answer for her part towards satisfying him in them as far as you shall judge proper.

* * * * *

(After speaking about a meeting of the Cabinet Council, he adds)—

What their opinion is like to be upon your joint letter with Lord Townshend to Mr. Secretary, I cannot yet tell you, but I am apt to think they will desire, in case a proposal is to be made to the Queen to recede from any point of the Spanish monarchy, that it should be as authentic as possible, and the security for the King of France's complying with all the other articles, as plain and as firm as it can be made ; because, to lay it before the Parliament im-

* The Whigs.

perfect or uncertain on any point, and I shall rather give rise to difficulties rather than give occasion to any. Of this I shall be able to write you more fully after the Cabinet Council to-morrow. I do not by any means intend to say thus much to-day, with respect to the peace, as I am almost not sure I shall have very little to say on that subject already.

The Queen has promised to give orders to all the officers to be sent to the field, and from all you may expect to see. I continue still in the opinion that from the end of this winter, that from the field, France will agree to the terms which my own private desires you should be content to see. I am not at all disposed to doubt of Zinzendorf or Prince of Anhalt's only upon yielding to it. I am, then, as I have said, of this letter, the

I am come from the Secretary Boyle has order than that in case it should recede from the entrance should absolutely insist you had time to accompany to receive her commands.

I find they all so particular, especially performance from the Parliament without there, which I insist especially if it recedes amongst friends in

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

March 8th, 1709-10.

Yesterday the wind is so contrary that I have no hope of hearing the next post goes from hence. I suggest a notion which I pressed the last year, as you then

of Anjou in Sicily will not be long without being master of Naples also, and therefore in that respect, as well as some others, Count Maffei's project * is more desirable, if there be any way of coming to it.

This sorry trial of Sacheverel's will so far delay the rising of Parliament, that there's no danger of its being up before the time of your going into the field.

Monday, March 6.

I am now to acknowledge the favour of yours of the 14th, by which I am glad to find that the Pensionary is so clear sighted and so reasonably jealous of the sincerity of France ; for it cannot be denied, that at the same time they pretend by yielding to him Naples and Sicily, to persuade him to give up Spain, they have been endeavouring for this whole twelvemonth to put it out of their own power to bring him from thence.

These are certainly great arguments of the insincerity of the French, but at the same time, their own misery is so severe, that it makes me hope all other difficulties will be overcome by them.

As to what you write of 62's mind about Sicily, I own myself to be of the same, but I am sensible that the Courts of Vienna and Turin will neither of them like this concession, and the mere apprehension of it is the true occasion of Count Maffei's proposal, as the only plausible means to hinder this other from taking place.

* To give Sicily to the Duke of Savoy.

Now as to the positive orders for which you again repeat your desire of the 14th, I don't very well see how they are consistent with your other desire of having the terms of the peace offered by France laid before the Parliament, for we must not lay those terms before them as what is already agreed, but as what may be agreed if they like it ; for this reason it seems to me that you can have no other positive orders from hence at present, but to insist on so much time as is necessary to send to England for the Queen's approbation.

And I shall venture to give you my own private opinion, that you have little reason to doubt of having it in case the matter turns only upon yielding Sicily to King Philip ; but then, as I have already said in the former part of this letter, the manner of securing the performance of the whole ought to be made very plain and clear.

I write this letter at home, having been forced away from the trial to-day with great pain of the gravel. I hope before the post goes out to be able to tell you I am a little more at ease.

LORD GODOLPHIN TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

March 8th, 1709-10.

Since my letter of yesterday the wind is so contrary and so high, that I have no hope of hearing from you before the next post goes from hence.

I write therefore to suggest a notion which I take from what passed the last year, as you then

agreed the preliminaries, and offered to France to take or refuse them, so if the French are now sincere in desiring to yield all the monarchy of Spain except Sicily, why might not some means be found to insinuate to them, that if they take the secure method and sign the treaty upon those terms first, there is ground to hope the allies may be brought to agree to it, allowing them a competent time to consider and judge of the security offered by France for the performance of them. Possibly this is no more than a notion, and never can be reduced to practice. However, there can be no harm in writing it to you. I have not mentioned it to any but to the Queen and to Lord Somers, who thinks, if it can be practicable, it would be the most desirable way that could be imagined of laying it before 88 (Parliament).

Friday, March 10.

This is the last day of Dr. Sacheverel's trial in Westminster Hall, but I am apt to think the debate of that matter in the House of Lords will require two days more at the least. In the mean time they will be going on in the House of Commons with the remainder of the supplies, and I hope all will be finished by Easter, so you may reckon there will be no room to bring any proposal to the Parliament after Easter-day, which is the 9-20th of April.

The Duke of Queensbury presses me mightily to write to you, that Lord Dumbarton might be one of your aide-de-camps, which he says would be a great

countenance and encouragement to him in the world. I could not refuse him at this time, when he tells me he will be right in the matter of Sacheverell, which is more than I can say either of 37, or of his elder brother.* They are both, I believe, to my certain knowledge, outrageous at the favour which is designed for 221 (Duke of Argyle), who, to say the truth, does not deserve it of you, nor ever will, but that matter is now past recall, he being next to 13 (Duke of Somerset), one of the greatest favourites. I must own there was a time when this favour might have been done him very properly, but that time was very short, and it can never be done but all mankind will be disobliged by it.


The weather to-day is very mild and warm, and being just at the equinoctial, I hope you will have a fine season for taking the field, if the French don't think fit to ease you of it, which I still think they will do, for as matters stand abroad, it seems to me as if they would be under a necessity either of making up the peace immediately, or of letting the allies see very plainly they do not intend to make peace at all till after another campaign.

LORD GODOLPHIN TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

Hague, March 28th, 1710.

I have followed your directions in giving assurances to Gronken in general terms, but, upon what

* Lord Orkney and Duke of Hamilton.



he says to me, I see very plainly that the negotiations between his master and France are not broke off, and the little inclinations I find this State has of giving satisfaction to that King makes me of opinion that it is absolutely necessary at this time, for the good of the public, and the particular interest of the Queen, that she would be pleased to write with her own hand the inclosed letter to the King of Prussia, and that I might have it to send to Gronken. I find by your last letter that you think everything may be finished, so as that the Parliament might put an end to the sessions about the tenth of the next month. I desire you will let the Queen know that I shall use my utmost diligence that she may have it in her power, before that time, to acquaint the Parliament so that she might have their opinion, but if it should so happen that neither the French nor these people will speak so plain, as may give her Majesty the advantage of laying the whole before the Parliament, I do then earnestly beg, for the good of the service, that the adjournments may be very short, for you may depend upon it, that the intentions of this Republic is to continue the negotiations in hopes of persuading the allies to consent to what France shall agree for the Duke of Anjou, in order to have a general peace.

You will see by the inclosed papers given by Count Zinzendorff to the Pensioner and myself, the intentions of the Court of Vienna. I do not doubt of the Count having his orders agreeable to these

papers, but you must be careful not to let him know the Queen's intentions, for Lord Townshend and myself have a very difficult part to act, so as not to give offence. The letters from Vienna say, that Prince Eugene was not to leave that town till the 23rd, so that we do not expect him till the eighth of next month. The business hitherto being very easy, I have thought it for the service, not to acknowledge the power given by the Queen for the further expence of the Swedes and Danes ; but if the war should continue, and those troops become absolutely necessary to be entertained, I think the numbers need not be greater than two thousand horse and four thousand foot. By the next post we shall send Mr. Secretary the declaration we have made concerning the north, which makes us so very much masters of that business, that I think for this year we need fear nothing from thence, especially if the King of Sweden be a little longer detained at Bender.

Petkom has obtained leave to go to Gurtruremberg ; he has faithfully promised to inform me of all that shall pass.

LORD GODOLPHIN TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

March 30th, 1710.

Since my last, I have the favour of yours of the 5th, with the letters and papers inclosed. The Queen shewed some pity upon my reading Sir R. Guinn's letter, and will, I believe, be inclined to do in that matter as you shall think reasonable.

I think the Parliament will be up by this day se'nnight, and by your last, I hardly expect any proposal from your side before that time. I am very glad to hear you are so near the time of your going to Brussels, for I have no prospect of any good to happen either abroad or at home, but from your taking the field early, and I think that may happen to have a great effect upon both. I will not trouble you in a letter with the particulars of 38's (my) complaints, but in one word, the life of a galley-slave is paradise in comparison with his.

March 31.

The resolution of the Court of Vienna relating to the Duke of Savoy's affairs is so very dilatory and scandalous at this time, that unless Prince Eugene and you can, by your authority engage the Mareschale to follow the project proposed and agreed to at the Hague, in the beginning of the last spring, for the operations in Dauphiné, all the expence of those troops and subsidies on that side is just so much money thrown away.

I shall not trouble you with anything else about foreign affairs till I hear from you. The Queen shews a great deal of weakness in countenancing and supporting the folly and impertinence of 13 (Duke of Somerset), to give no worse name.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

Tournay, April 20, 1710.

Being informed of some indiscreet and vain conversations of 13 (the Duke of Somerset), I must trouble you with the letter I have received from Lieutenant-General Maitland, and my answer to it, which I must desire you will read to the Queen, and to assure her that I have no inclination in this matter but what her service obliges me to ; and as long as I am in it, I shall always act what I think for her Majesty's safety and honour, and be very little concerned for the displeasure of 13 or 221.

The day before we came here the enemy retook Montagn, but that post being very convenient for us at this time, we forced them from it the day before yesterday ; but the waters continue so very high that we can't as yet attempt St. Arnant, which would have been of use to us for the attempting the lines ; but as the falling of the waters are uncertain, and the giving the French more time very dangerous, the orders are given for the army's marching this night, so that I hope my next will give you an account of our being in Artois, for if they can hinder our passing the lines, it will put us under very great difficulties, and very much dishearten our friends at the Hague. On all the French frontiers they talk of nothing but war, so that we suppose here our next letters from Holland will be that the French are gone from Gurtruremberg. God send us success.

LORD GODOLPHIN TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

April 20, 1710.

There being no possibility of foreign letters before the post goes out, I shall begin this with giving you an account of a visit which I had the honour of this morning from 28 (Duke of Shrewsbury). He was extremely full of professions to you and to me, and to Lady Marlborough ; and by whatever door he came in, it was always with an intention and a desire to live well with those three ; and not only so, but with all others they would have him live well with, not doubting, he added, that it would have been done much sooner if you and I had been entirely masters of it ; and that perhaps it was as well for us that it had happened in this manner, considering the jealous humour of the Whigs. I answered, with compliments from you, and I did not doubt but our friends would be all in the same disposition. And I really find them so, for the most part, as far as they think 28 may be relied on ; and they seem, however, to think it the best method to be taken at present.

His Grace protested most solemnly to me that he never had spoken a word to Abigail in his life ; then he said, the only sore place was the difference betwixt 240 and 42, and that all the rest might presently be set right. This he said was going a great way, for the first conversation, but that he desired to use all freedom with me. If you think

fit to make any answer to this, I beg it may be in a letter to myself.

The Duke of Hamilton is a good deal mortified with what was done lately for the Duke of Argyle, and since for Bugg (Duke of Kent) upon his going out. He is now in a disposition of coming round again to you and me, but you have never yet remembered to ease my Lord Archibald's pretensions.

Count Maffei tells me the proposal you and he had talked of to me, has also been opened to 14 (Lord Townshend) and to 62 (the Pensionary), and would have me write to 14 to desire him to talk with Marquis de Bourg and the Pensionary together upon that subject; but I like better to write this to you, and if you think proper, you will write to 14 accordingly.

I think you have done very well in delaying to take the Swedish troops into the service of the allies, for our friends this year are so remote and defective, that we shall find very great difficulties in supplying your own army in Flanders, as well as we used to do.

An expedition was designed last year for Canada and Hudson's Bay, but hindered by the article in the preliminaries for neutral restitution. The cabinet council seem inclined, now the hostilities are renewed, to renew also their intentions in that matter, and I believe we shall put it in execution as soon as we are quite free from all apprehensions about Scotland.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

April 24, 1710.

Since my last from Tournay I have not till now had so much time to myself as to be able to write. The success we have had since Monday is hardly credible; the French that morning, as soon as we appeared, quitted their lines, which, if they had defended, must have cost us a great many thousand lives. From thence they marched to Vitry, behind the Scarp; but as soon as we appeared the next day, they decamped in great haste, leaving several of the officers' tents and baggage, their servants being gone with their horses to forage. That night the army I command passed the river; those under the command of Prince Eugene stay on that side, to block the town. Yesterday I made another movement to Pont de Rache, so that Douay is now blocked on all sides. This happy beginning makes us hope for a glorious campaign, in which it is likely we shall have a great deal of action; and as I think it is very much for the Queen's service that the officers should be in good humour, I have written the enclosed letter to her Majesty, to beg the favour of her allowing the promotions mentioned in my letter. Mr. Walpole will have the names agreeable to the dates I mention in my letter, which I desire you will, with my humble duty, give to the Queen, and that she will be pleased, at the same time, to give directions for Lieutenant-General Lumley's patent for life,—I mean for his government. I hope the Queen

will approve of what I have proposed at the Hague, for the troops of Prussia. The Emperor and the Dutch, by that proposal, are to pay one half. If they will not comply, it will always be in her Majesty's power to have them at her own expence ; and as the business of the North does not so much press as when I was directed to receive them into the Queen's pay, I thought it for the service to endeavour the saving of money.

God Almighty has blessed us with extraordinary good weather, or we should not have been able to have performed what we have done ; if He continues his blessings, this campaign must put an end to the war. We are now at a full stand for want of our cannon, which I fear we shall not be able to get to this place till about the eighth of May, for neither in Holland, nor here in the army, we could never flatter ourselves that the French would have suffered us to have advanced so fast ; we shall, in a little time, see what effects this success will have on the Councils of France.

LORD GODOLPHIN TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

April 28, 1710.

Not having any letter from you since my last, I shall have little trouble to give you by this post. Mr. Walpole having given the Lords of the Committee an account that we have six regiments here which may be spared for any pressing service ; they seem to determine that five of them shall go upon

the same expedition designed last year to North America, and the other to Scotland, from whence Lieutenant-General Maitland alarms us that the Pretender is expected there in May. Lord Isla is afraid of going to the West Indies, and the Duke of Shrewsbury has appeared very warmly for his regiment's going to Scotland, which I believe will prevail, and so I believe will whatsoever he thinks fit to concern himself very warmly for ; and 89 (the Whigs) consisting of so many uneasy ill-humoured people, will probably give the Duke of Shrewsbury so many advantages before the weight of 39 can come to their help, that I doubt it will not be possible for me to have patience so long as is necessary I should for the sake of the Queen's own self, I mean with relation to the affairs abroad, and as to those at home, unless 81 (peace) appears, they will be in the last confusion from the encouragement given to run against the present administration, for that must certainly hinder all preparations for another year, but in case of peace those disorders will have no great consequence but to the particular persons who happened to be concerned in them.

To give you some comfort after all these melancholy reflections, we have this day begun the subscription for the 100,000*l.* upon the Silesia funds ; I have subscribed 2,000*l.* for myself, and, in the absence of Lord Ryalton, 4,000*l.* for you, in which I hope you won't disown me. Sir Harry Furnese will give you a particular account of all other

particulars belonging to this matter in his letter, which he told me he would send to inclose in this before the post goes out.

MR. SHUTE TO LORD SUNDERLAND.

Hatton Garden, Sunday afternoon, 1710.

My Lord,

It is of the utmost consequence in my humble opinion, in order to put stop to these rebellious tumults, to prevent the mob from assembling on any pretence whatsoever during the trial of Dr. Sacheverel, but especially to huzza him from his lodgings in the Temple to Westminster Hall, and from thence back again several times, as I have been informed they do since Wednesday night. For being permitted thus to assemble, they will presume that either it is not unlawful for them to gather together, or that the government has not the inclination or the courage to prevent it. But your Lordship will easily observe that any of these opinions prevailing, will accustom the mob to assemble till it will grow very difficult to break them of it, especially if your Lordship considers that every time they meet, the combination and confederacy is strengthened, every one encouraging the other till they grow hardened, and at last are led to commit some wickedness, that makes them desperate. And if they are suffered thus to assemble whilst the justices of the peace have the directions of the government to do their utmost to prevent these tumults, and have the guards and

militia to assist their officers in the execution of their duty, to what degree of insolence will they not come when the constables and headboroughs shall not be posted up and down to secure the streets as they are now, or the militia be not up to support them. The charge of which is so considerable that either it will not be kept up after the trial is over, or if it be, will make the people uneasy under it.

It being therefore so absolutely necessary to put an immediate end to the mobs assembling, though in never so small a number, I will take the liberty, in obedience to your Lordship's commands this morning, to propose how I think it may be done in the best and most effectual manner.

To prevent the mobs accompanying him to the Hall in a morning, which has been the first occasion every day of their getting together, they must be prevented from assembling in the Temple under his chambers.

The method of doing it would be for the benchers of both the Temples to order all the gates (except that in the middle Temple that leads to the water) to be kept shut, having only the wickets open, to hinder any of the mob from coming in, and to set their own porters with a sufficient number of watchmen for that purpose ; and if they offer to force the door, to send for the train bands, two companies of which are posted at Temple Bar, to their assistance.

The train bands posted there must likewise have orders to prevent any mob from drawing together

about Temple Bar ; and if the Temples and Temple Bar be kept clear, the mob will not so easily know where to find the Doctor's coach, in order to the attending him to Westminster Hall ; if they should assemble in other parts, and if they cannot find it, the end of their assembling in a morning being lost, they will soon disperse of themselves, and not attempt for the future.

But the more effectually to prevent their getting together elsewhere, in order to find out his coach as he goes to Westminster Hall, the militia of Middlesex must have strict orders to prevent the mob from gathering in any of the open places where they are posted, such as the May Pole in the Strand, Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, Covent Garden, and her Majesty's guards the like orders for Whitehall.

It would be a very effectual means to prevent the mobs attending him were some of the militia posted at the end of the cross streets that come into the Strand from such open places as Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, and Covent Garden, so convenient for their gathering in the neighbourhood of them.

This, my Lord, would, I suppose, effectually prevent them going to Westminster Hall with the Doctor ; but there must be more care taken to prevent their coming back with him, they being more disposed to come back than to go thither, it being generally at a time when their work is over, when they are more animated by their noisy leaders, who dare not appear in the daytime, and when they are

for the same reason more ready to commit any wickedness they are prompted to. This also ought to be prevented with the utmost care, because it is more difficult to resist them in the night, and a terror and a panic are more apt to be spread.

To this end, all the avenues leading to both the palace yards, must be very well secured, and no disorderly person suffered to come into it, or stay in it. And no mob be suffered to get together about the Abbey or King Street, especially about that part of King Street which is near Palace Yard. If this be prevented, they will not know where to find his coach, and being disappointed of their end in attending back, will not give themselves the trouble of attempting it for the future.

By these reasons the streets will be kept pretty clear from Westminster to the Temple, from any mob, but such as those who live in those streets, or just in the neighbourhood, who being few, may be very easily prevented from meeting, or very soon dispersed.

And the better to do it, the justices of Westminster should give strict orders to their officers to take up everybody that huzzas in the street, especially in the case if the mob is sounding the trumpet, in order to their being brought before them, and being sent to the house of correction, or being dealt otherwise with, as they shall find necessary.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

May 8th, 1710.

Since my last, I have had the favour of yours of the 10th, from Newmarket, and another of the 18th, from London. The post of the 14th brought me none from you. You do not give me any account how the project of Calais came not to be put in execution, and I should be glad to know how far the inclinations of those people continue in case we should this summer find an occasion of being near their neighbourhood, which will not be impossible, if we can take another town after we have this, which I think nothing but a battle can prevent. It is said the King of France has given full powers to the Marshal de Villars; if it be true we shall see him before the end of this month; we are preparing to receive him. We shall want the greatest part of the Palatine troops, and I fear some of the Prussians. If the three battalions embarked are intended for Flanders, I could wish they were hastened, for if we must give a battle, in all likelihood the good or bad welfare of Christendom will depend on the success. Our letters by this post are full of changes that are to be, and of the Duke of Shrewsbury being declared Lord Chamberlain. I am stayed for, so that I have not time to say more by this post, but I long for the time of being quiet with you.

The Prince of Savoy has desired me to make his compliments for the Barbadoes matters.

LORD GODOLPHIN TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

May 12, 1710.

Not having any letters from you since my last long letter, I shall apply myself to answer, as well as one can in a letter, some particulars that you mentioned to me in your letter to myself upon 28's (Shrewsbury) coming in. 38 (I) took the first opportunity of pressing 42 (the Queen,) upon the favour she had given you some hopes of for 15.* But all that could possibly be obtained, after long reasoning and importunity, was, that he should certainly be the first, as had already been said to himself. 38's construction upon this was, that a first resolution was taken that no present mark of favour was upon any account to be shown to 89 (the Whigs). It was not impossible but that there may have been some other collateral reason, but in my opinion this was the chief.

This being the case, I cannot see it would be of any use for 89 to apply to 28, in this affair, besides that, notwithstanding all 28's fair words, I can see plainly by his discourse to me but yesterday, that his friends are expecting and pressing for other alterations, and one particularly relating to 6 (Sunderland) that must be insupportable to Mr. Freeman, and consequently to 38 (me,) and therefore I took the liberty to say that so plainly to 28 (Duke of Shrewsbury), that upon it he took up a

* The Garter for Lord Orford.

little, and said, that for his own part, he should never press any thing that would be disagreeable to Mrs. Freeman, and that he, 28, could live much better with 6, than with some others of his companions. I did not desire him so much as to say plainly who these others were, but I am apt to think none more likely than 15 (Orford) himself, or perhaps 5 (Somers.) But these are only my own conjectures. I know that generally the ill will of 48 (the Tories) runs chiefly against 7 (Wharton), but he seems at present to be a little out of reach.

Upon the whole, considering 13's (Somerset's) assiduity and inveterate malice, joined with 42's (the Queen's) natural disposition and weakness, Mr. Freeman and 38 must expect as many mortifications as they can find handles to give them, unless 89 were disposed to give such assurances to 28, as should make him think himself secure in acting with them, which treaty I think is very difficult to make in Mr. Freeman's absence, and would not be so in my opinion, if he were there. But the matter will have taken its fly before that time, and therefore I conclude this uneasy subject with saying, that in general we must take care to keep our temper, and not to suffer ourselves to be provoked by the injuries done us by others, to make a wrong or unreasonable step ourselves; for that would not only be the greatest gratification imaginable to 13 and to 221, &c. but also draw the blame of any ill consequences upon ourselves, which otherwise will light, as it ought to do, upon them.

By my Lord Stair's letter to Mr. Secretary Boyle, he ought to be with you by this time, and I hope he is. He has left a secretary here, which looks as if he designed to go back again after the campaign, and as if he were to be entitled to the appointments in the mean time. This latter part is not reasonable, if he does not go back again, which I fancy he does not intend, and indeed the business he went upon seems to be so well finished, as not to need his return.

The Queen has told me she intends to give Colonel Hill a pension of 1000*l.* a year for life, and that she had promised it ever since he was disappointed of a regiment of dragoons.

I am just informed that 28 has had a conversation of three hours with 17 last night, to whom he has explained himself more particularly than to me in several points ; 38 will be with 17 this night at nine to hear it, but it will be too late for you to have any account of it till next post. But I imagine the drift of this meeting was for 28 to convince 17 of his sincerity to 39, and the difficulty of keeping 42 from running headlong into 84's (the Tories) measures.

Upon talking the other day with Mr. Erle, whether the present posture of your army abroad might give a proper opportunity for seizing some post upon the coast of France, and making such a descent as he was employed upon before he went to Ostend, he has just sent in his thoughts in the

inclosed letter and paper which I trouble you with, that you may see that he does not think anything of that kind practicable, without a greater body of foot than we have; but whether any more can be drawn as he proposes out of the garrison in Scotland, I am not a judge, nor indeed of any other part of it.

LORD GODOLPHIN TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

May 5-16, 1710.

Yesterday I received the favour of yours of the 8th, with the inclosed letters from the Pensionary and Lord Townshend, both which I have had the honour to read to the Queen. At that part of my Lord Townshend's letter, which mentioned the foreign ministers writing from hence that the Treasury is to be put into commission, she gave a sort of a scornful smile, but did not think fit to say a word to me upon it, and perhaps it is not yet in her intentions or thoughts; but what she may be brought to in time by a perpetual course of ill offices and lies from 199 (Harley) and his friends, and no pains taken by 38, or anybody for him, to break the force of those impressions, I am sure I cannot answer. But this I know, as long as you are abroad in the field, and that your army cannot be regularly paid, but by my particular care and endeavours, no slight provocation shall prevail with me to quit my post, though it is uneasy enough in itself, and would in my circumstances be intolerable, but that I know

the public would suffer both at home and abroad, if I should not contain myself till your return, which is therefore my present resolution ; but the insolency of 199 and his creature are inexpressible. 221's brother and 10 (Rivers,) and that sort of cattle, have as little management here as you say he has abroad.

At the same time I am persuaded 28's inclination goes with us, but 'tis impossible but he must have great measures to keep with the others, besides that I believe he must be sensible there must be great difficulties in continuing well with us upon account of 240's (the Duchess) present circumstances. However, it is my opinion, that if 39 were here, 28 would speak so to him as to satisfy him, and perhaps he would do so to 240 too if he had an opportunity ; but 240 has not been in town since his coming among us, and seems pretty fully resolved not to come in the way of that conversation.

I am pretty sure it shall not be proposed by me, both because I think it would be disliked, and that I think it is not the way to have it succeed, so that matter, as well as most others, must be left to Providence to bring about in its own time.

I have now to thank you also for your letter of the 12th, with the inclosed from the King of Prussia to the Queen, which I have delivered to her Majesty. I am very glad to find by yours, that you are so well prepared to receive the French army by every way that they can come to the relief of Douay.

My opinion, therefore is, that they will never come through the plains to make that attempt, besides, that by the French news, they will not be able to draw all their army together before you will, as I hope, have taken it. But they will probably stay till all their detachments join them, and then try to make you attack them behind some river or other strong situation, where they will post themselves to cover their own country. But even in that case, I still think they will not be able to cover their sea coast at the same time. In one word, all depends, abroad and at home too, upon the good or ill event of this campaign. I don't say this to make you hazard or precipitate anything in the least that in itself is not reasonable, but rather that you would avoid occasion, and consider whether five or six regiments now here could be of use to you for the distressing of France, by seizing any post upon the coast, and by being more able by that means to furnish bread to your army. I am apt to think that any plan of that kind fairly laid before us, would meet with a ready concurrence here; and I yet continue of opinion, that a detachment from your army appearing before Calais or Boulogne at the same time with our fleet and land forces, might either incline those places to put themselves under the Queen's protection, or afraid to expose themselves to her displeasure by refusing to do it. But you are the best judge whether anything of this kind be practicable. I only mention it, that in case you

desire it, we may have your thoughts early enough to provide for what you expect from us.

I see by the Pensionary's letter to you, that the Elector of Hanover has absolutely declined to command in the Rhine, and that 62 (the Pensionary) pleases himself with the thought that 48 (Eugene) may draw men from thence to strengthen your army upon occasion. I must own to you I have but little faith as to that point, for the troops which compose that army have seldom, in my observation, been in any condition to make long marches.

I find by Lord Townshend's letter of this post, that though the negotiations seem at present to be ended, yet he does not think the French plenipotentiaries are in any great haste to go home. I pray God to give you good success, and send us a happy meeting. To me I am sure, it will be so, happen when it will.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

May 16, 1710.

I have received the favour of your two letters, and as soon as I can see a probability of renewing the negotiations at the Hague, I shall write to Lord Townshend, as you and Count Maffei desire. By the last post Mr. Secretary acquaints me that he had acquainted Monsieur Spanheim that her Majesty was willing to recommend to the Parliament

next winter, her part of the hundred thousand crowns for the renewing the treaty for the troops in Italy. When the proposition was made to me at the Hague, I did immediately tell both Schmettan and Gronken, that it was so very unreasonable, that they ought not to insist of anything of that kind, but at the Court of Vienna, so that the King of Prussia will be angry with me, and pleased with your resolutions in England, which, if the war should last, will occasion you many more troubles of this kind ; for as my business everywhere during this war has been to save as much as possible the Queen's and public's money, they will be sure to make their applications where they shall find it most easy.

Lord Raby is also very unjustly angry with me, that he is not treating, as he calls it, at the Hague. But as long as I am sure I do what is best for the service, I shall be very little concerned at what he and some others think.

I have received, as might be expected from our long acquaintance, a very kind letter from the Duke of Shrewsbury. You know the esteem I have always had for him ; I have not time to answer it by this post, but by the next I shall do it as I ought ; in the meantime you will make him my excuses and compliments. You and the Queen know my thoughts as to the Garter 15 (Orford.) Would not this be a time ? I hint it only to you.

I dare not speak against the project of sending

troops to the West Indies, the Cabinet Council thinking it very reasonable. But to you I will own very freely that I think it can end in nothing but a great expence and the ruining of those regiments. Besides, nothing that can be done there will forward the peace ; and if we can be so fortunate as to force them here, we may have by one dash of a pen much more than any expeditions can give in many years. But what I write is only for yourself ; for as I have not been advised with, I beg my name may not be used.

The Marshal de Villars was to be the 14th at Perrone, and intends, as we are assured, to have his army together on the 19th. But as the easterly winds keep the grass and corn very backward, I very much doubt whether he can be able to make them subsist. We are using our endeavours for getting dry forage till the end of this month, in which time we hope to have this town. Lord Lumley being dead, I should be glad you would take a proper time of recommending to the Queen Lord Harwich. He behaves himself extremely well, so that he ought to be encouraged.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

May 19, 1710.

Since my last I have had the favour of yours of the 28th, by which I see the intentions of a West India voyage ; if I had heard sooner of that pro-

ject, you should have known my particular thoughts, which I wrote by the last post upon hearing of it by accident, though I did not care to meddle with what is not immediately under my particular care, yet I can't forbear thinking by the experience I have had of expeditions in the last reign as well as this, that it is next to impossible that this can end in anything, but an expence to make you uneasy, the ruining of the regiments, and the increasing of the debt of the ordnance. You know very well that these considerations give real uneasiness to nobody but 38 and 39, nobody caring how the debt increases or how anything succeeds, so as that their parties do not suffer. I cannot be of this humour, for as long as I am in business, I must say and do what I think is for the service, so that you will excuse the trouble I give you, for I know finding fault must have that effect.

What you say as to the different humours of people, I believe is but too true ; but as you have, with prudence and patience, suffered hitherto, I think you must not be disheartened. And if Monsieur Villars makes good his threats of venturing a battle, I should yet hope, before this campaign is ended, we might have a sure prospect of a good peace. If we have no action till the end of this month, I shall esteem it a happiness, for by that time we shall have all our troops, except the Palatine's, and even four thousand of them will be here in the first week of next month. As the French continue to draw their

troops from Dauphiné and the Rhine to strengthen their army here, Prince Eugene has written to Vienna, that we might have from the Rhine two imperial regiments of horse and three of foot. Tho' they should consent, we must not expect these troops till the month of July ; but by it you will observe we do all that is in our powers for strengthening this army, for here it is where the fate of this war will be decided ; and I think that this campaign must do it, which makes me more cheerfully bear the age of threescore. I am very glad you have had so good success in the loan of Silesia, for without that money the imperial troops of this army could not have subsisted, but with great difficulties. You might be sure there was no need of your giving yourself the trouble of an excuse for the subscription you made for me, for not only in money matters, but in everything, you may command your humble servant.

The Earl of Dunmore has desired me to write to the Queen in his favour for the government which his father had ; he is certainly left very ill, and is a very sober discreet young man. In my next I shall let you know my thoughts as for a governor of Carolina, by the disposing of which I may satisfy Colonel Corbet, who gave the Queen a petition the last winter. She there seemed to wish I might do something to content him, he has served so long ; but I think it is better for the Queen's service to satisfy him this way, than giving him a regiment,

his enemies having fixed upon him the character of a Jacobite.

We send out this evening four thousand horse under the pretence of visiting the ground about Arras, as we shall do, but the real intention is for the taking of the Cardinal Bouillon. It is done in concert with himself. He having great benefices in France, it must not be known to anybody but the Queen. He promises to serve the interest of the House of Austria at Rome ; if we take him, whatever further steps shall be made, the Queen shall have an account.

The enclosed papers you must put with the rest. I have written to the Princess, as she desires.

LORD GODOLPHIN TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

June 16, 1710.

By a messenger dispatched last night, who goes in the same boat with this, you will receive so large a packet, that it would be very unreasonable to add much to it to-day. However, I have a mind to tell you that 42 has directed 200 (Mr. Boyle) to write to-night to 14 (Lord Townshend), that he should acquaint 62, that what had been done relating to 6, was not with intention in the least to diminish the credit of 39, but that it was 42's intention not to make any other change, and to support the allies, and carry on the war with the same vigour as ever. The best use which we think can be made of this

is for 62 and 116 (the States) to return an answer by 65, that they are very much concerned for what has happened to 6, who was known to be so great a friend to them and the common cause ; that they are very glad to hear 42 has no intention to make any other changes ; but if there be the least thought of parting with 88 (the Parliament), as is very industriously spread in that country by the friends of 43 (France), it will be utterly impossible to hinder these people from running into 81 (peace) immediately, just as 43 pleases, leaving 108 (England) and 42 (the Queen) to shift for themselves, without any security against the pretensions of 54. I must tell you also the many arguments used here for changing of the Parliament while 80 (the war) continues, which is, that the new or old Parliament will always be for supporting the war against the King of France ; but the fallacy of that is, that when 88 is once gone, all the allies are in despair, and making their own terms, before it is possible for 88 to come again and declare their intentions ; and though those intentions should happen to be the best in the world, yet it would then be too late to hope for any fruit of them. If you approve this argument, as really I cannot see much to be said against it, I submit to you whether it may not be good for you to take notice of it in a letter to 28, as the general opinion of the whole alliance, and of all sorts of people on that side of the water. I can't think but this must have some effect upon him ; at least it

will make the matter more difficult, and help to gain us more time to secure 81 (peace), and after that, let them do whatever they please, I, for my part, shall be much more indifferent.

LORD GODOLPHIN TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

June 22, 1710.

To-morrow we shall want three posts from Holland. In the mean time the noise of new elections continues very strong, notwithstanding the great weight laid upon that matter both there and here, so that 'tis really amusing to see how little reflection people make upon consequences that are so very hazardous. If God Almighty continues his blessings to you in the field, all this may yet come right again, and no other way do I see any prospect of it. You are extremely kind in writing so often a private letter to myself, without which I should be under very great difficulties at this critical time.

To make all this management yet more discreet, 42 has at this time a very plain information of an attempt designed upon Scotland in the midst of August. The first cargo is to come from Brest, and to be seconded afterwards from Dunkirk, so that 42 desires that you will continue to watch that place very narrowly. The preparations are not made at one time nor place, to avoid suspicion.

Lord Galway pressed, before 6 went out, for leisure to come home, and it was allowed him. To

be rid of 10, 38 named him to 42, who made 28 propose it to him ; but he has refused it, thinking himself, I suppose, too necessary here. Upon this refusal, 42 seemed inclined to Lord Portmore, which makes me think 28 has recommended him. If he be as capable of serving well as he believes himself, there needs no more.

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APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

THE DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH TO ———.

February 23d.

I AM so little mistress of my own time, and it is so uncertain to find your Ladyship without an appointment, that I think this the best way of giving you an account that I have obeyed your commands to the Duke of Marlborough, who says all the good in the world of Mr. Sydney, but at the same time that it is impossible for him to comply with your desires now: he tells me there is a great many captains in the regiment much older, which is an argument to defend himself from me when I urged the hardship it was not to prefer Mr. Sydney; not that he designs (I hope) to provide for them according to their eldership, for at that rate Mr. Sydney's advancement would be very remote. I think myself unlucky that I am so insignificant, where I wish to be of use, but still I hope that a little time and patience may compass something to your satisfaction, which is very much desired by, Madam, your Ladyship's most faithful and most humble servant,

S. MARLBOROUGH.

DR. HARE TO THE DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH.

Barnes, Aug. 26th, 1726.

Madam,

When I waited on the Princess on Tuesday last, she, among other things, mentioned your quarrels with Mr. Walpole, which, being by this means so fresh in my mind, I took the opportunity I had in a visit I made yesterday to him, to speak of them. Being at leisure, he entered very frankly and fully into them, protested that he had not the least design of disobliging your Grace, or the least thought of incurring your displeasure, in any of them, but as he thought himself obliged to you for the credit and service you had done the government, by lending for several years so great a sum to it, so he was always desirous to serve you, and so little suspected your being out of humour with him, that he thought himself upon a very good footing with your Grace, when you sent to him and expressed so much resentment.

He then entered into the particulars: the Woodstock postmaster, taxes for the park, and going with your coach through St. James's Park. As to the first, the not sending your Grace word that what you desired was done, was most evidently pure omission in the hurry of business; since the thing desired was immediately done, and whoever does a service, cannot be supposed less willing to give notice of his having done it, than he was to do it.

As to the taxes, though he thought what was desired unreasonable, and should certainly think so in his own case, yet he presently made an order for allowing the money, which was doing all that he properly could do, that the order has lain ready for you these sixteen months, and may be had by sending for, and if your Grace will not submit to the usual and regular forms of doing business, the world must think the fault yours, and not his. As to the last article of going through the Park, he owns that upon the King's complaint he did, without thinking of your Grace, or any other person, advise the King to revoke all leave in general, as less invidious than to call for a list and make exceptions, and that it was better that those whose cases were reasonable, should apply for new leave than be excepted. But that when he knew how much your Grace was offended at this, he desired Lord Godolphin* to obtain your consent for applying to the King for leave for you, which, if you had agreed to, it would certainly have been granted. But, instead of this, your Grace applied by the Princess, whom, as herself told me, the King refused, and this the Princess told Mr. Walpole; upon which he asks a very natural question, what could he do in such a case? How could he pretend to ask the King to do what he had refused the Princess? Or what could be

* Francis, second Earl of Godolphin, and son-in-law of the Duchess.

a greater rudeness to Her Royal Highness? This was the substance of what Mr. Walpole said, who told me he was free to enter into these matters, from the consciousness he had that he had done nothing that could deserve your displeasure in any of them.

What impression this conversation made on me, your Grace will judge, by my troubling you with an account of it. And I have this reason to think I do not judge partially; I heard your Grace once in the spring speak about these things with a resentment that exceedingly surprised me, upon which the first opportunity I had, I spoke of them to Lord Godolphin, whom your Grace knows, I think, one of the most reasonable and most dispassionate creatures in the world, and consequently most likely to judge truly and impartially. And he gave me the same account, and was clearly of opinion your Grace's resentments were ill-founded.

I am sensible, Madam, these matters will not bear dispute or arguing, while your resentments are so strong, and therefore I write with no other view, but the hopes that your own calm reflections, when at leisure and out of conversation, will lead you to see things in another light, which is easiest done by putting another person in your place, and considering what judgments you would make of the like conduct in them.

I hope and believe, Madam, that I need not tell your Grace that I have the most affectionate esteem

for you, and not only esteem, but really admire you for your fine understanding and good sense, and for the just and noble sentiments which you express on all occasions in the best language and the most agreeable manner, so that one cannot hear you without the greatest pleasure ; but the more I esteem and admire what is excellent in your Grace, the more concerned am I to see any blemishes in so great a character. Ill-grounded suspicions, violent passions, and a boundless liberty of expressing resentments of persons without distinction from the Prince downwards, and that in the most public manner, and before servants, are certainly blemishes, and not only so, but attended with great inconveniences ; they lessen exceedingly the influence and interests persons of your Grace's fortune and endowments would otherwise have, and unavoidably create enemies. It is, I think, confessed to be one of the most prudent rules of life, for persons in all stations not to give needless and unnecessary offence, since no person is so great as not to want on many occasions for themselves, or relations, or friends, the favour and good will of others ; and least of all, is it desirable to incur the settled displeasure or ill wish of a Prince ; since he can seldom want long an opportunity of making it felt in some degree or other. How far your Grace has any regard to this rule of life, I need not say, because I am sure I want no inclination to put the most favourable construction upon any blemishes

in so bright a character ; because I have no other thought of them, than what I know to be the sense of all your friends, so far as I have any knowledge of them. It is the fate of great persons to be generally entirely ignorant of the sentiments their friends have of their conduct with respect to anything that is amiss in it, and therefore it is possible nobody may have ever taken the liberty I now do. But yet, in a true estimation of things, it is by all men allowed to be one of the kindest offices, and I know of no return I can make your Grace, that can more effectually convince you of the thorough sense I have of your late kind care of me, when by my illness I gave your Grace and your family so much trouble, which I hope your Grace will believe I would not have done if I had in the least imagined the disorder I was under, when I knew not it had been anything but fatigue, and would have proved a distemper.

I shall always, Madam, retain a grateful sense of your goodness on this occasion, and be glad of any opportunity of acknowledging it. And if what I have now done have not the good fortune to be thought of that kind, yet I beg your Grace will forgive it, since it proceeds from no other motive in the world but the great and entire respect I have for you, which has drawn me into this instance of a real, though perhaps imprudent zeal for your honour and service.

I am leaving these parts on Tuesday for about

two months, and before that time hope, if I have said anything I should not, it will be forgot, since the intention of this letter is not to argue, but only to suggest things to your Grace for your own reflections. I am, with all possible respect and esteem,
Madam, &c. FR. HARE.

I do not send this by the post, that it may come into no hands but your Grace's own.

THE DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH TO DR. HARE.

I have received the favour of yours of the 26th of August, for which I give you a great many thanks. I have read Montaigne, and I remember he says something to this purpose, that one can't give a greater proof of friendship than in venturing to disoblige a friend, in order to serve them. I am entirely of his opinion; and even when I am not convinced that I have done wrong, I always take it kindly, and therefore I am confident I shall never forget it though you desire me, and in this I imitate your humble servant Dy., for when I made a sort of an apology for telling her anything that may prevent any mischief to her, she always says, she loves me better for telling her any fault, and I desire you will believe that my nature is the same; and I beg of you never to have the least scruple in telling me anything you think, for I am not so partial to myself as not to know that I have many imperfections, but a great fault I will never have, that I know to

be one. And now I must desire your leave, in a place where you have a good deal of leisure, to trouble you with a long letter (which I foresee this will be) and to put the subject of your letter in a true light, for I find you have heard but one side, and that not stated fairly, but the facts are as follows:—

In the first place, I did not send to speak with Sir Robert Walpole, he sent to me, and brought with him papers of what he had to propose concerning the borrowing the trust money. I heard him very patiently, though I had been ill treated upon many occasions. I found that it was the old business, to lend money, two hundred thousand pounds immediately, which he had the goodness to own would be a service to him. But a greater sum which he was to have some months after, he would have made me believe was an advantage to the trust; and that it was for our own sakes that he took it, intimating that he could have what he would at three per cent., or at less. This was a little provoking to one that knew how much Lord Godolphin had lost by lending at such low interest, and how impossible it was for Sir Robert Walpole to have made so much as an appearance of sinking the public debt, if I had not consented to lend the trust money. However, I resolved before he came to say nothing, but that I should take his proposals and ask advice, and that I should not carry the compliment so far as to do anything in that matter, but as

I was convinced that it was for the interest of the trust.

This was not very courtly I own; but by experience I had found that very great civilities were of no use, and nothing passed but formality and great coldness, till Sir Robert Walpole drew it upon himself by making me some small expression (which since he was a great man he never did before) of his being always ready to serve me, or something to that purpose, upon which I thought I might very well repeat all that I had ever desired of him, and in whatever manner he had treated me. He laughed very much, but whether it was a laugh of anger or contempt, I don't know, for I have heard that he has both; but he would by no means allow that I had reason to complain of anything, and said that I had repeated a list of trifles. Upon which I said, that great men heard nothing that could displease them, because most people that spoke to them wanted their favour, and when any person told them the truth, they generally thought them mad; that I had said nothing but was so, and when he cared to hear the truth I should be glad to see him again; that I had now vented myself, and I could talk to him easily upon other things, and after a little more discourse, we parted civilly. But I should have told you before that he answered the business of the Woodstock postmaster, just as you have wrote that he had done the thing, and the omission of not sending me word it was certainly

nothing, if it had been true that it was done. But this very reasonable request was made in August to his brother in as civil a manner as I could express, and no answer being given, I wrote to Sir Robert Walpole upon it, having some other business upon account of something he wanted to be done in Windsor Park ; and he answered my letter without taking any notice of the complaint I had made to him of the postmaster's rudeness ; and notwithstanding all that I could say, this man (that only sold nails) was not put out till after the King came into England, and but a few days before I was honoured with Sir Robert Walpole's visit. This he says was immediately done, and calls it a service.

As to what he says of the taxes of Windsor Park, it is true that when I spoke to him first about them, he did say it was unreasonable, and added a great deal upon that head, which I thought more insolent than ever I heard any minister say, but I bore with it, and it did not hinder me from lending the first great sum that he desired ; because I knew Lord Godolphin had a mind that he should have it ; and for the same reason I have repeated that service very often, though it was plain that at first a vast gain might have been made by buying things in the public funds, of that sort that were as secure as the lending of the money ; and had this been done, I know Sir Robert Walpole must have given Lord Godolphin a reasonable interest, but he told him that he could have what money he would of the

Bank at such low interest, and told the Bank that if they would not lend upon his terms he could have it of Lord Godolphin, and so played them against one another. But to my certain knowledge, when he was forced to have money of the Bank, he gave them a much better interest than he did Lord Godolphin, which I think was very base, to save the public money in no case but where his friend was concerned. I think a friend should never influence one to do wrong to a trust, but he certainly ought to have allowed Lord Godolphin as good an interest as he did to the Bank, and not to have taken advantage of his easiness in money matters.

But to go on in answer to what Sir Robert says concerning the taxes, "*that he did immediately make an order for allowing the money, which was all that he could properly do, and that it has been ready this sixteen months, and that if I will not submit to the usual forms of doing business the world must think the fault mine.*" It is now about nine years since I first spoke to Sir Robert Walpole upon that matter, when he ranted like my Lord Rochester, and said he must always be against it; that his own park was another sort of thing than the King's, who had nothing but a little venison, and he thought people that had grants should pay all the charges. I answered that I would do it very willingly if the King could give it me, but I was only his servant, and I thought the tax of his Majesty's own park would not be required of me to

pay, no more than I could expect my servants should pay out of their salary the taxes at St. Alban's; that I never had paid any tax for that park, nor any other ranger since the Restoration, which he would find in the treasury books. Upon this he grew a little more civil, I suppose upon the great sum of money that was to be lent by my hand; and he said he would enquire at the Treasury, and make himself master of that matter in two or three days, and then he would acquaint me with it; but I lent the money, and he never thought fit to take any sort of notice of me till he wanted the same kindness to be repeated. But I found about two or three months after, by accident complaining to Lord Godolphin of Sir Robert Walpole, that he had told him that he would take care to put those taxes in such a method that they should be paid, and I am apt to think that was said chiefly upon Lord Godolphin's account, because he could not charge the tax upon one park, and clear the other from taxes, which is now my Lord Godolphin's, from my gift to his wife.

Sir Robert says this tax is not reasonable for the King to pay, and perhaps he is so far in the right, that the town of Windsor may have made them greater than they ought to be, to lessen their own taxes; but let that be as it will, I am sure the rangers of Windsor parks have nothing to do with the taxes for the King's ground: and I do believe, that what ground was anciently belonging to the

crown and called the King's parks were not subject to taxes : but these parks have been enlarged both by King Charles and Queen Anne ; and it would be very hard upon the subject if Kings could make purchases, and by that means make the tax so much heavier upon people of small estates. But there can be nothing so ridiculous as to expect that these taxes should be paid by a servant out of an allowance only to make the hay for the King's deer that he eats and gives away, and to pay the keeper's wages and other charges belonging to the King, which I do whether I receive it or not ; and besides a great sum of money that I have laid out, which depends upon the Crown to take away when the lives fall. I am sure the allowance has done little more than pay the necessary charges that I am to pay as ranger ; and whatever advantages so knowing a man as Sir Robert may make of his own park, I find mine at Blenheim very chargeable. And at Windsor 'tis much more so, because all the under servants look upon it to be the King's, and that they have a right to get all they can.

But to conclude this head, I can't conceive what Sir Robert means by saying, I won't submit to the usual method of doing business, for I don't understand that I have anything more to do to solicit or receive money to pay the taxes of the King's little house at Windsor and his two parks, all which is taxed together, than I have to pay any allowance that he thinks to allow the parishes of St. Martin's

or St. James's churches for what he gives them upon account of Whitehall and St. James's. And I spoke to Sir Robert only as he was at the head of the Treasury to do me justice, and to save me from the uneasiness of having the officers for the taxes at Windsor coming to me perpetually to tell me that they would seize my goods at the Lodge, which I believe they can't do, because it stands in the old park; and for the deer, they are the King's, and he may do what Sir Robert pleases with them. I make no advantage of the park, but to eat sometimes a few little Welsh runts, and I have no more cows than I allow the under keepers, which are to each six, but I have laid out a great deal of money, which is called being a good tenant, and I never was so mean as to bring any bills, like other great men upon such occasions, for what I did for my own satisfaction.

I am now come to what Sir Robert says concerning my being forbid that small privilege of going through St. James's Park, which the late Queen never took from me, even when the ministers for their own interest made her angry with me. Whether the King spoke first to Sir Robert, or he advised it himself, makes no difference to me. I think it was unreasonable for St. James's Park to be made like a street; but considering the situation of my house, and how very modestly I had made use of the liberty that was given me, I thought I might have hoped, from the services that I always

endeavoured to do Sir Robert, when I had power, that he would not have allowed the Duke of Buckingham's widow a greater favour than the Duke of Marlborough's, since her house is as near Hyde Park and Westminster as mine, and has both ways a better going to it than mine has from the Pall Mall, through a narrow place that sometimes from the encroachments people have made, a coach and six horses can hardly get out ; and what makes this the more extraordinary is, that Sir Robert Walpole told me himself that the Duchess of Buckingham had wrote so impertinent a letter to the King, that she was not to be allowed to go through the park ; yet after that she was allowed to go through every part of the park, as much as the Royal Family does ; and what I aimed at was only to go sometimes when my health required it to take the air. Mrs. Dunch has been likewise permitted the same favour, who lives at Whitehall. The only reasonable thing that Sir Robert says upon this subject is, that when the King had refused the Princess, how could he ask the King to do what he had refused to her. This sounds right, but I think it is not unlikely that you have helped him in that turn, but I am sure even you can't give a good reason why Sir Robert Walpole did not of himself get an order to have me allowed the same liberty I had, when the Duchess of Buckingham was allowed it ; or if he had continued the intention of keeping her out, nobody would have wondered at it.

In the conversation I had with him, he said he thought it was reasonable for me to go through the park, as I had done, that Lord Chetwynd was a fool in sending the message to me, or to that purpose, and that I might have had leave if I had desired it. I said I thought it was too much presumption in me to send to the King, considering how I had been used and represented in Cragg's ministry, the particulars of which you have formerly read, and I did then design never to trouble myself nor anybody more about that matter ; but a great while after, when I found the Duchess of Buckingham went through, being so ill that I could not bear the jolting of a coach upon the stones when I wanted to take the air, I wrote to the Princess to obtain this favour for me. She wrote to me in half-an-hour, with a great deal of goodness, and would not send me a refusal till she had tried several times, and there is no doubt but Sir Robert knew this, who might have prevented my troubling her Royal Highness at all, as it was natural for any man that had any gentlemanlike qualities, by asking the King's leave long before anything of this happened ; and he certainly should have done it without giving me any trouble but to thank him for his civility ; for it was a small favour, and what some ministers formerly would have thought right to have done upon their master's account, without any view of obliging me in it. And as to the rudeness which he

thought it would be to the Princess, if his Majesty had no regard to my letter, which was not written in the Duchess of Buckingham's stile, I think he might have represented it so easily to the King as to have made her a compliment by telling her that he could no longer refuse her what she had desired upon my account ; I dare say her Royal Highness would not have taken that for an affront.

I am confident that Sir Robert Walpole never desired Lord Godolphin to ask my consent to apply to his Majesty for leave, but says it only by way of excuse ; for he never said to me the least word like it ; and though he is not so warm in some things as I should be, I know he has so much truth and real goodness that he would have been glad to have told me anything that could have been of any use or ease to me. This is certainly true, and I am sure I never forgot anything that ever Lord Godolphin said to me.

I believe I may some time or other have complained of Sir Robert Walpole's treatment of me, but I never went through with it, believing that it was not easy to him ; and I am not surer of any one thing in the world than I am that I never had any such message from Sir Robert Walpole by Lord Godolphin or anybody else. I am sorry to find you think my resentments are so strong, that I must be more calm before I can make right reflections ; I think I can be easily convinced by reason, and I am

sure I never was in any passion about these things, nor I believe never shall be about anything that any court or ministers can do to me ; I know the world too well to let anything of that sort strike very deep, and I hope I shall always take care (as I have hitherto done) not to be the aggressor.

I have followed your advice exactly in putting another person in my place, in order to judge better of the matter, and I can positively affirm, that had I been in Sir Robert Walpole's place, I should have done very few things that he has done ; and as ill as he has used me, if he were just in my place, and he had been so treated, I should have thought in his case just as I do in my own, and would have prevented it had it been in my power. I agree with you entirely it is very imprudent to give needless and unnecessary offence to people in power, and that all people may have occasion of favour for themselves or their friends ; nay, I go yet further, for I think it is very agreeable to live well with any court that one wishes well to, as I am sure I have always done and must do to this ; but I hope you won't blame me if I can't compass impossibilities. I have paid my duty in the most respectful manner as long as it was fit for me to do it to the King, and before I knew Sir Robert Walpole so well as I do now, I really loved him ; and to show how little partial I am in my nature, I was of his side against my Lord Sunderland, and often declared it before

he and I had any difference, which was chiefly upon his marriage and the South Sea project ; but I must own that I cannot come up to your discretion as to keeping my thoughts to myself, when I know I am in the right, and when I never have had any obligation, which is my case, from *the highest downwards*, as you express it. I can't see that I am obliged upon any account not to say the truth, let it fall upon whom it will ; and if I could have so sweet a temper as you wish me, I can't see that it would be of any use to me, for if all the good wishes that I have made for this government (not to mention some services) can't make the ministers treat me with common decency, I don't see why I should deny myself the pleasure of speaking my mind upon any occasion. I never yet saw any creature that was so tame, unless it were somebody that could not be contented to live upon what they had, and though I have as much pleasure in serving friends as anybody ever felt, yet upon that account I would not do what I would never do for myself, though I were ever so much reduced in my fortune, that is, make a mean court to those that have used me ill before I ever had a thought of saying one wry word of them ; and as for what you say of the boundless liberty which I take without distinction, the person that you now would defend has taken much greater, though he had obligations to him, and you see as to interest that has done him no hurt, since he can

make that person do whatever he pleases; but I don't design to take him for my pattern.

I have been misrepresented by a great many vile people, and so must any person be that will cross a worthless man or woman's passions, though it be ever so right to do it; and I am very little concerned for what you seem to think is the sense of many concerning my behaviour, because I am sure they don't know me, and by what I have seen in most of my acquaintance, I have hardly ever found that they could take the advice in their own case, that some will give. For my own part, I own to you freely that I should be sorry to have less resentment than I have, since it does not make me uneasy; for I never yet saw anybody that would submit to ill-usage that was capable of friendship or of anything that is good. I never was false or did an ill thing to anybody; and if those that do both hurt me when they have no provocation from me to do it, I think I am at liberty to say whatever is true of them, and I wish nobody went further; I am sure I never will, whatever injury may be done me, which I have found generally fell upon me from those that wanted to defend their own wrong actions. I think it is now high time to have done, since I dare say I have tried you, but not altered your opinion of me; but however that may happen, I am sure that I shall always be your most thankful and faithful humble servant, unless I should find you otherwise than you have ever been to me, which I think is

not possible after the long experience that I have had of you, and of so many friendships shown to me upon several occasions. By what you have written 'tis possible that you will call this letter the effect of passion ; but I assure you that I am in none ; and if you think this passion, you must think so of me as long as I live ; for I have not the least anger against those you mention ; one is imposed upon and must be so, and the other can't help their nature, nor I can't help thinking of them as I do, nor can anybody expect that one can either love or value those that have few or no good qualities, so much as one does those that have.

I hope you will tell me that you have forgiven this very long letter, for I could not make it shorter without studying a long time ; and you know my way is to tumble out the truth just as it comes in my head.

THE DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH TO SIR ROBERT
WALPOLE.

Jan. 1, 1731.

Sir,

I confess that your letter surprised me extremely, and you will excuse me if I am desirous of some further explanation of it. You tell me that you have laid the several proposals I made relating to Windsor Park, before his Majesty, and that he is not disposed to do anything upon them. I presume you do not mean by this, that his Majesty will entirely abandon all further care of the park, and let

it run quite to ruin ; but only that he will not be put to any extraordinary expence upon account of beautifying it. My letter to you, sir, consisted of several parts ; I apprehended some of them might have been for his Majesty's service and diversion, being told that game cannot be preserved unless some corn be sown in the park, and that for want of some plowing the ground was almost all overrun with mole hills, thistles, and other weeds that destroyed the grass a great deal, which is wanted for the feeding a sufficient stock of deer to answer his Majesty's demands, besides the new addition of the red deer let into the park ; but it is not for me to argue upon that matter, and all I will say more of it is, that I hope nobody will imagine that I had the least view of any interest to myself, but only in mending the ground by plowing small pieces at a time as his Majesty should be pleased to direct, but as he does not approve of it I am very well satisfied. The other matters contained in my letter, are not proposals of mine as you term them, but representations of facts, and things that are absolutely necessary to be done. It is very easy to conceive that when the Crown has not been disbursed for a great number of years, that many necessary repairs must be wanting. To avoid solicitation I have done many things at my own expence that never any ranger did before, but that cannot be always expected from me, tho' I shall never desire the Crown should be at any charge for the lodge that I make use of, tho' 'tis

as much the King's as the keepers' lodges are, who attend his Majesty in the park, whose lodges, I am informed, are in so bad a condition, that some of the poor men have been forced to be at the expence themselves to keep out the weather. I believe you will think it better husbandry to lay out at present a little money in necessary repairs, than to be forced to rebuild them when they are fallen down. The rails likewise are in many places rotten, and in some places quite fallen, and if there be no fence the deer will run out of the park, and the cattle of other people will get into it. Many of the gates also want repairs, and these are things that I apprehend to be so absolutely and immediately necessary, that I make no question, that when his Majesty is apprised of them, he will not only be disposed to order them, but give his directions that they may be forthwith done. And I hope you will order the proper officers of the Crown to survey these matters, and see whether they are not as I have represented them, with orders to do nothing but what they shall judge necessary, for the less I have to do in it, the better I shall like it. But I confess I took it to be my duty to lay these things before his Majesty, that I might not be blamed if he ever should find his park in a worse condition than he expects. I am sorry to have given you this second trouble. I am,

Sir, your most humble obedient servant,

S. MARLBOROUGH.

DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH TO MR. RUDD,
BIGGLESWADE.

Marlborough House, April 12, 1735.

Sir,

I am glad you seem to have a good opinion of the tenants, but they should keep their promise in clearing to Lady Day, 1734. After what is done, they are going on in a year and a half's arrear further, which will be due at Michaelmas next ; this will be a very great sum considering what they owe besides to my Lord Godolphin, who has given it under his hand, that the Duke of Marlborough shall be paid first, upon account that he received a great sum of money, which by law he could not have had, and for that reason, as I have said before, the tenants must be brought to owe but half a year's rent to the Duke of Marlborough before they must be allowed to pay anything to my Lord Godolphin. I am confident that Mr. Norgate and Mr. Tomlinson have made some agreement underhand with the tenants to evade this agreement ; and it would do the Duke of Marlborough a very great service if you could find out what it is ; which, among so many tenants, I should think you might be able to do. I am sure my Lord Godolphin cannot do so shameful a thing as to support them in it, though Norgate and Tomlinson may contrive it so as to cover it and bring a most unreasonable loss upon the Duke. I have seen a great while that there is

a great kindness between Best and these wicked agents; but they say Best is able to pay, and I will write to him myself about it.

As you have taken some pains to examine the estate at Strixton, and like it so much, I should be very glad to buy it; therefore I desire you would do what you can to find out the real truth of it, for I am confident it must be sold to some new bidder, my Lady Oxenden having left her money to several people. My money is as good as anybody's else, and I would give for it what you will advise me to give, and pay the money down as soon as the title is made out. There is nothing more certain than that there must be soon a war, or we must be swallowed up by France, which I should think is so bad a prospect as not to make land go at an extravagant price. I am very sincerely your friend and humble servant,

S. MARLBOROUGH.

THE DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE
DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

August 1st, 1735.

My Lord,

I am sensible that your Grace's time should not be taken up with trifles, but I cannot avoid doing it upon a conversation which I understand you have lately had with the Duke of Marlborough touching a dispute between the Duke of St. Alban's and me, which occasions your Grace this trouble. The Duke of St. Alban's pretends to claim a right of

coming into Windsor Little Park with coaches and chaises whenever he pleases. I have forbid it ; he urges a necessity for it on account of his supervising the fortifications, a term in my mind extremely odd and ridiculous, if he means by it the ditch that is round the castle, two sides of which are out of the park. I do not apprehend it to be of any great importance to the place, but however, I am so far from desiring to prevent the constable from doing his duty in his military capacity and putting the place into a proper condition of defence, that I promise, whenever he shall please to give me notice, I will order my keepers from time to time to attend him or any other engineer that may be thought necessary for the purpose, though I confess I do not see any immediate probability of an attack. But to be serious with your Grace, I do assure you that I never knew anybody whatever pretend to the least right of this kind, nor was any one ever admitted into the House Park in coaches or chaises but the Royal Family or the ranger, on account of his going to his house ; of the truth of this, I am sorry to say it, I am a witness for full fifty years, and if a right cannot be claimed, I am sure the Duke, of all men living, is the least entitled to receive any favour from me ; he has often been most remarkably uncivil to me, to give his treatment no worse a name. I will not trouble you with an account of the particulars, but if I might make use of a military expression in my turn, I could say, that he has

besieged me in both parks, and been willing to forage in them at pleasure. He once got the fences pulled down which cost a good deal to put up again, which if it had not been done, my grant had been useless to me. When he got Cranborn Lodge, he broke open a door which I had in friendship to Lord Ranelagh suffered him to make, and which upon his death was made up, and this he did not only without my leave, but without giving me the least notice of it. I got the better of him in these points, and now he pursues me to the Little Park, and I wish he may not have persuaded your Grace that the best way to compromise this affair is to let him have a key ; but I hope what I have said here will convince you to the contrary, and of the reasonableness of my opposition to his ill-grounded pretensions, and I make no question but your Grace will represent this in such a manner to her Majesty, that I may not only not suffer in my right, but what is still worse, in her good opinion, as if I claimed more than really was so. I must once more ask your pardon for the liberty I have taken, before I assure you that I am, my Lord, your Grace's

Most obedient, and most humble servant,

S. MARLBOROUGH.

LORD GODOLPHIN TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

St. James's, 22d July, 1736.

Madam,

Since Sir Robert Walpole's return to town, I have reported to him what I had in command from your Grace, the last time I had the honour of waiting on you, and in a second conference I have had with him on the subject, he told me that the terms mentioned by your Grace were very readily agreed, viz. the depositing such a sum of money as should be thought reasonable, in proper hands for the benefit of the poor of the parish. That in consequence of this, he hoped your Grace would direct either Mr. Green, or whom else you thought fit, to meet Mr. Selwyn and such counsel as should be appointed on her Majesty's behalf, in order to their considering the most proper means for reducing to practice, and for empowering the Queen to make such a road as has been desired. Whatever directions of this kind your Grace shall think fit to give, you will please to send to Mr. Green, because I am going for ten days into Gloucestershire, and the summer (which is the only time for works of this kind) is pretty far advanced. I am, Madam, your Grace's

Most humble and obedient servant,

GODOLPHIN.

THE DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH TO MR. WALLER,
LINCOLN'S INN FIELDS.

14 of —, 1738.

Sir,

I believe the grant for the ground in St. James's Park was made before Mr. Travers was land surveyor. This grant was made to trustees for me, and some years after, (I do not know how long,) upon the Queen's granting a lease to Mr. Henry Boyle, for what they called the Queen's Garden, she added a small piece of ground for making more room to build my house. This is a great many years since, and perhaps this might be after Mr. Travers was in that office. But let that be as it will, I am very sure that in those few grants I had, which were only the lodges in Windsor Park, and ground for Marlborough House, I never failed paying the persons who passed those grants the moment they passed them, and it is very probable if I had time to look for papers of such a standing, I might find them. So that the memorandum Mr. Holditch talks of is ridiculous. As to my speaking to him, he is a man of a general ill character, and therefore I don't see that can be of any use but to give me trouble, for I am sure he will give me nothing after his proceedings that the law will not give. I shall be ready whenever you please to pay Mr. Peck the money on account of Chillworth. I have seen Mr. Hughes this morning ; he tells me all things will be

ready soon to finish the business of Hill Deverill :
I shall be ready to complete the purchase, and am,
Sir, your friend and obliged humble servant,
S. MARLBOROUGH.

THE DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH "TO MR. COOKE
AT THE BANK."

April 6, 1742.

Sir,

I have received a letter from Mr. Dodridge, a gentleman that I know not ; but he seems to me to be a well-wisher to my family. He writes a good deal to me, and expresses satisfaction in the reading the book,* which proves the falsities that have been spread by party against me ; but wishes that I had added two things more to the clearing my character ; which are as follows :—first concerning the King of Prussia, that he had writ a book in which he imputes the ruin of Europe to have happened from a quarrel between Queen Anne and me about a pair of gloves. I did once hear there was such a book printed, and that His Majesty said, the Queen would have her gloves made before mine, which I would not suffer the glover to do. The other report, which he mentions, is, that her Majesty was reconciled to the Duke of Marlborough and me before her death. The letter does not mention what we did to compass this great favour ; but it seems to think it was

* This book was the "Conduct," which was printed in 1742.

from doing some very infamous thing. As to this story, I can only answer that I never heard one word of it before; that the letter says, that we came into England, the end of July, 1714; the Queen died the 1st of August, and we did not come into England till after her death, and, as to the King of Prussia's history, I have heard it was some other person that wrote it for him, and called it the King of Prussia's. I will not pretend to say anything in contradiction to his parts, if he did write it; but I think it is impossible for anybody to answer all the nonsense that has been laid to the charge of kings and ministers, and as to these two stories there is not the least foundation for either. To pretend to say anything to them is like answering all the Grub Street papers which are only writ from people in garrets to sell: and, upon this late occasion, some have writ a foolish book to find fault with the Conduct, and the same person has writ another to answer himself. I have done what I had great pleasure in, vindicated myself by incontestable proofs from the vile aspersions that had been thrown upon me by the rage of parties, and I believe there were great numbers of people which believed all they were told very naturally, till it was contradicted. This I have done very clearly: and I do not care what fools or mad people say of me, which will always be a great majority: and I am as little concerned at what kings may write, for I am very sure that I shall never more have anything to do with

kings or ministers, for which I thank God. This gentleman, Mr. Dodridge, desires that I would give him some answer to what he has writ, by mentioning it in my conversation with Mr. Cooke, of Newington, which he says will bring it round to him. I suppose he means that you have some acquaintance that correspond with him; if you please you may send this very letter to him from, Sir,

Your most obliged friend and humble servant,
S. MARLBOROUGH.

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